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A PURE BALLOT
AND *Compliments of*
Uriah Wilson, M. P.
AN HONEST COUNT

"The ballot is the medium through which the will of the Sovereign people is expressed; and he who lays unholy hands upon that sacred trust is as much a traitor as the man who aids the enemy of his king and his country."

ONTARIO ELECTIONS, 1905

MR. J. P. WHITNEY, LL.D., K.C., M.P.P., FOR PREMIER

**MACHINE RULE UNDER THE THIRTY-THREE-YEAR
OLD GOVERNMENT—STORY OF THE ROSS
SYSTEM AND ITS FRAUDS**



THE
**Record and
Platform**

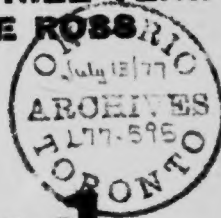
OF THE

LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PARTY

**DEVELOPMENT, PROGRESS, REFORM AND
POPULAR FREEDOM**

BUILD UP ONTARIO MORALLY AND MATERIALLY

POLLING JANUARY 25, 1905



TOO LONG A TERM

A LIBERAL LEADER GIVES STRONG REASONS WHY THE ROSS GOVERNMENT SHOULD GO

Attorney-General Longley is the leader of the Liberals in Nova Scotia. This gentleman, who is a close thinker and observer, as well as a politician writes thus on the subject of prolonged terms of office for Governments and parties:

"It is impossible for any body of men to be in power for a continuous period without getting lax in their ideas of public duty. This is the innate tendency of mankind.

"Besides long terms of office induce the members of Governments to get the notion that they not only have a divine right to rule, but that instead of being the trustees and servants, they are actually the masters, and all favors are to come from them.

"This is subversive of the whole theory of popular government and it is in the interests of the people to have it clearly understood that Governments are not heaven-appointed rulers, but mere instruments of powers subject to the will and control of the electorate.

"Again, long terms of office tend to get public matters running in a rut. A department gets mouldy in time under one management unless indeed the administrator is a man of more than ordinary wisdom and capacity, which is not too often the case. Frequent changes are necessary in order that new ideas and fresh energy be infused.

"Once more, the Civil Service is enormously benefited by changes in the Administration. The tendency of all Administration is in the direction of bureaucracy. Red tape grows in proportion to the length of the period of uninterrupted rule. The members composing the Civil Service are chosen by the political party in power, either solely for political services or with that element in the appointment.

"In course of time the Civil Service thus becomes a hive of partisans, gradually gaining the impression that the world was made for the saints and that they are the saints."

The present Ontario Government has experienced shuffles. But it has been in office continuously for thirty-three years.

Its record—the story of its doings in recent times, is before us all.

In view of Mr. Longley's statement, ought it to receive another four-year term?

Pamph
1905
no 18

ALL CLAMOUR FOR ACTION

LIBERALS, CONSERVATIVES AND INDEPENDENTS, MEN OF ALL CLASSES AND CREEDS, PAPERS OF ALL SHADES CALL FOR THE REJECTION OF THE ROSS GOVERNMENT

Very strong are the demands that are made for the defeat of the Ross Government at this election. All classes of people, all shades of politics, are hoping that Ontario will rise en masse and effect reform.

The dreadful corruption and fraud proven in the courts of the land, have produced this call. Public opinion is against the continuance of the present condition of things, and the pulpit and the press demand a change.

It is notable that Liberal papers join in the universal demand. They feel that wrong has been done, and that further wrong may come unless punishment be administered.

The clergy—not Conservative clergymen, but gentlemen who are of the Liberal political persuasion—are insistent that the Ross Government should be required to go. They feel that the moral future of the country depends upon the action that is taken in this crisis.

Here are a few of the expressions of public opinion:

STRONG CONDEMNATION OF CRIME

At the Liberal-Conservative nomination in East Kent the following letter was read from Rev. Edward Softley, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Morpeth:

"W. B. Graham, Esq., President Liberal-Conservative Association:

"Dear sir:—Throughout all the past years of my ministerial life I have studiously refrained from taking any part in controversies of political parties. I regard the present time, however, as a crisis in the public life of our country. As a clergyman and a citizen I feel it my duty to speak a word in condemnation of the brazen dishonesty, lying and perjury which the courts have proven to be associated with the party now in power. The Ross Administration—it is not worthy of the name reform—has, in its efforts to retain office, been the means of casting a stigma and disgrace upon the fair name of the Province of Ontario. It is a Divine truth, which seems now to be scouted, that 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.'

"I sincerely trust that his Majesty's loyal Opposition will make it their aim and object in the present crisis to fight strenuously for the maintenance of our national righteousness and moral rectitude. In this effort they will merit and, I trust, receive the support of all true Canadians, irrespective of party.

Yours faithfully,
"EDWARD SOFTLEY,"

ROSS SHOULD RESIGN

"Canadian Liberalism has the best of reasons for extreme indignation and resentment because of the disgrace which the conduct of a section of the party in Ontario has brought upon it. The very name of Canada itself has been grossly besmirched.

The whole thing is utterly disgraceful and humiliating. If the Liberal Government of Ontario cannot clear themselves of complicity, direct or indirect, in it, there is but one thing for them to do and that is to resign and hide themselves from public scorn as promptly as possible, so as to free Liberals elsewhere in the Dominion from the ignominy which has been brought to their doors by even outward connection with such doings.

Nova Scotia may be "slow," its villages may lack social "spontaneity," it may be devoid of the "feverishness" of Ontario; but, and let us thank God for the fact it is a decent British Province, politically. It tries to conduct its elections upon a plane far above the American "saloon" and the Ontario gutter. This is measurably true of both parties.

We have our short-comings in this Province, of course. We are not by any means all that we should be in any way; but, without fear of being called pharisees, we can give devout and open thanks that we are not as Ontario would seem to be."—*Halifax Chronicle* (Liberal), Sept. 21, 1904.

"HELL WITH THE LID OFF"

"During the past week in this fair Province of Ontario every right-thinking man has received sledge-hammer blows, blows that have shocked him to his very foundations, in the revelations coming to us through the election courts. If Dr. Parkhurst described Tammany rule as hell with the lid off, then I think it is a fair description of conditions that have been revealed to us during the week. One man said to me that we are not as bad as the United States yet. Neither are we as bad as Sodom and Gomorrah. But the revelations coming to us ought to make every right-thinking man hang his head in shame when we consider that men are getting into places of power through the very tactics that they legislate against in our halls."—Rev. R. Fulton Irwin, in Askin Street Methodist Church, London.

EVERY PULPIT IN THE LAND SHOULD SPEAK

Rev. Dr. McKay, of Chalmers Church, Woodstock, a Liberal, said in his pulpit on October 25:

"We have recently been startled by the deplorable condition of our politics. The boodling, the bribery, the perjury, the wholesale debauchery exposed by our courts during the past few weeks ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every patriotic Canadian. The very foundations of responsible government are seriously threatened. It is high time for every pulpit in the land to sound the alarm."

UNSCRUPULOUS MEN ON TOP

Among the strongest men in the Liberal party in North Wellington is Mr. J. A. Halsted, a leading citizen of Mount Forest. Mr. Halsted has been an active worker in every campaign since Confederation. In the hard struggles between Senator McMullen and Mr. Lionel Clark he was Mr. McMullen's chief lieutenant, and his shrewd, practical, business sense and his resourcefulness as a speaker, made his services invaluable. Mr. Halsted has been giving to the *Winnipeg Tribune* his views on the political situation in Ontario. He says:

"It is undeniably certain that it will be a good thing for Ontario at large when the Ross Government, the Liberal faction now in power, either gives

up the ghost voluntarily or is defeated on its merits. Rotten with age and dragged down beneath the waves of dishonesty in politics by a drowning weight of a huge set of unscrupulous party hangers-on, it is time that it was driven out of power and succeeded by something which would have more of the provincial than the personal interests at heart."

"You may raise your eyebrows in surprise when I tell you that I am Liberal myself. But I have the interests of the province at heart, and I keep both hands on the Union Jack. For these reasons, then, I believe we need a change in government down east. The party which I support to the best of my ability is lying in a state of coma as far as the interests of the people of Ontario are concerned, but it must be admitted that they seem very much alive to their own interests or the interests of certain unscrupulous individuals who, instead of being their life will be their death. There is nothing more to it, and I speak as plainly as I can.

"How can a party which has had its own way for upwards of thirty years, and which is hanging on by the skin of its teeth, be expected to look after the interests of the people? Wearied by their long existence they have closed their eyes and gone to sleep. The necessity of a change is very apparent, and I do not think it will be long before there is a change.

LIBERALS SHOULD STOP THIS

Said Rev. W. J. Pedley, of the Western Congregational Church, Toronto: "If it is true, as alleged, that these men are simply tools in the hands of others behind a veil of secrecy, I say it is time to find these hands and cut them off. Let it be known that no man is good enough to be Prime Minister of the Dominion, or of Ontario, who winks at corruption in any form.

"It is a serious thing when a man high in the counsels of his Province and of his church has to admit that his election was aided by a man who had previously been guilty of open acts of corruption.

"The Reformer who is not disgusted and aghast at the revelations made at the Sault is an enemy not only to his country but to his party."

A CREW OF CROOKS

"Voters will demand a pure ballot. Politicians who are indifferent to the issue in the Ontario Legislature elections will find that they have been judged and found wanting.

In Provincial affairs in Ontario the big question at issue will be the purity of the ballot.

The orgies of the organizers must cease, and the electors of Canada will demand that election crooks shall be placed in straight-jackets.

Clean elections we must have.

A verbal deprecation of corruption is not sufficient for the people.

The people are losing faith in the politicians of Ontario, and the cry is for a man who will act. The Man at the Head of a Business House is held responsible for the bad goods which he delivers.

The Organizer and his Machine must vanish. His human tools have been found guilty of every unsavory political trick and device known to the knavish mind.

The political annals of the Province bring shame to every party man.

To deprecate these acts is not to denunciate them. The people ask that denunciation be followed by quick correction of these frauds—ballot-box stuffing, repeating, fraudulent registration and "do red" returns.

Since the days of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie in Ontario, the names of Reformer and Liberal have stood for purity, for uprightness and for honorable dealings, and good Liberals will not allow their good name to be beamirched by a crew of crooks who fly the Liberal flag while concealing their own the banner of corruption."—*Ottawa Free Press* (Liberal), Oct. 3.

A DASTARDLY CRIME

Rev. Dr. Ross, pastor of St. Andrew's Church, London, spoke thus in the course of a sermon on the great political evils.

"Many of us remember the horror with which the Liberals regarded the corrupt practices of the Conservatives under the old regime. And we thought the millennium was about to dawn when they got into power. But some of the shadiest transactions of political history have seen the light since then.

"Why, it has been proven that men, men made in the image of God, men who possess the glorious privilege of citizenship in this young and free country of ours, were bought for \$2 per head.

"Now, I have no doubt there are many respectable Liberals who have succeeded in persuading themselves that such things never happened. But when men have been unseated by our courts on such evidence, does not this afford tolerably certain proof of the truth of these charges?

"Others, while admitting the truth, say that we must not blame the best men of the party or the party leaders for the indiscreet zeal of some of the least conscientious men in it. No! The policy apparently has been to import certain scalawags from no one knows where, and let them do the dark work and keep the candidate and the best men studiously ignorant of these proceedings. But some one must furnish the \$5 bills that are found near the grey mare or at the bottom of the buggy!

"I do not like to refer to a still more dastardly crime, namely, that of tampering with the ballot box. Yet I fear this worst of all political evils has not been altogether unknown in Canada. The atmosphere must be very impure where even the suspicion of such a thing is entertained."

THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS

"The question for every Christian voter in Ontario to decide is: 'Have the acts of the Ross Government been of such a character that I can (as a Christian man) afford to stamp them with my approval and authorize their repetition?' If the answer be in the affirmative, then the voter may properly assist the return of Mr. Ross to power; but if, as we believe, a very large majority of the Christian citizens of this Province must answer this question in the negative, there is but one possible and constitutional method of registering their conviction, and that is by a vote against the Government.

No man can excuse himself for endorsing the wrong in his own party by the specious plea that the other party will be just as bad. That is a matter of speculation. Let every Government and every party be tried by the 'Jury of the People,' for what it has actually done. Only when the leaders of both parties are made to realize that the party which *does* wrong in office will be punished regardless of consequences, will they square their actions with the highest moral and religious principles.

But just as long as corruption and faithlessness in one party is excused by similar qualities in the other party, will the corrupt elements in both parties dominate the public life of the Province. As the Liberal party has been in power in Ontario for over thirty years, there is practically but one party with a provincial record. Why should we speculate as to what Mr. Ross or Mr. Whitney will do in the next Parliament? Let us judge the Government by its deeds, and reward it according to its works.

The smashing defeat of this corrupt, time-serving and pledge-breaking Government by the Christian citizenship of the Province, would mark an important epoch in the struggle for good government, by teaching public men the needed lesson that the way of the public transgressor is hard. We have, we believe, been warranted in assuming that the Christian public are fully informed and very deeply deplore the dishonorable acts of the Ontario Government.

We feel that the only danger lies in the beclouding of the question by appeals to party prejudice. *Not policy, but conduct, not promise, but performance, is the issue.*—*The Liberator*, a journal of moral and social reform.

AS BAD AS TAMMANY

The Presbyterian says the revelations bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every honest and self-respecting man, and recall Tammany in its palmy days.

"We cannot close our eyes to the seriousness of the situation. Decent men have stood aside, busied in their own affairs, and allowed the work to go on until the stench of it all has become intolerable. But the public conscience is at last fully aroused to the depths into which we have sunk.

"Men who have stood aside have waked up to the fact that the situation cannot be met by mutual recrimination and that it is one in which decent men, irrespective of party affiliation, must join hands in an effort for clean methods of administration, so that the will of the people shall not continue to be balked by the tricks of party heelers.

"It is not our function to suggest a course of action in the crisis. But it must be made plain that NO MAN OR BODY OF MEN THAT HAS BEEN GUILTY OF DEBAUCHING THE ELECTORATE CAN CONTINUE TO HOLD THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE.

"The hint has been thrown out that a dissolution may take place and that prohibition may be made an issue in an appeal to the country. It is to be hoped that there are no grounds for the latter surmise. TO DRAG PROHIBITION BY THE HEELS INTO THE POLITICAL ARENA AS A FORLORN HOPE WOULD BE PROPERLY RESENTED BY THOSE WHO HAVE CONSISTENTLY STOOD FOR IT IN THE PAST. The fate of this party or that is immaterial. What is essential is that the aroused public conscience shall assert itself, not in mere denunciation but in act; that men of ability and character, who have hitherto stood aloof, shall come to the front willing to serve their country, and that those who have covered the name of Ontario with infamy shall receive the reward for their deeds.

A LIBERAL PAPER PROTESTS

The Stouffville Pilot, the Liberal paper which has hitherto supported Hon. E. J. Davis, breaks from the Liberal party, on the corruption question, and says:

"Alexander Mackenzie enunciated and advocated the principle of responsibility in political warfare, but the Ross Government of this day, while professing the Liberalism of a former day, have depraved and dragged political morality in the dust. Deliberate and organized attempts have been pursued in every election to corrupt the electorate, and the leaders of the party are condoning the same by disregarding the enforcement of their own laws against such acts of debauchery. Not stopping here, the so-called Liberals of this Province have made flagrant attempts to purchase the support of members of the Legislature. In the history of free and constitutional government has any endeavor so outrageous, so utterly defiant of constitutional principles ever been conceived? The revelations resulting from this attempt to purchase certain members of this present Legislature were abortive, but it remained for the Conservative Opposition to drive one of the principles of this debauchery, a member of the Ontario Government, from his office into semi-political retirement.

"Again, in defiance of the principle of government by majority, we today behold the Ross Government clinging to power with an ad-popular majority. Our sense of constitutional government and adherence to reform principles compels us to say this situation demands an immediate resignation and appeal to the electorate of the Province on the part of Premier Ross and his colleagues.

"We believe the time of the Ross Government has about run its course, the hour of its dismissal has been struck, and we appeal to every true Liberal to forget party lines and assist us to elect only those whose sense of honor and the responsibility resting with them as legislators is such as will lead them to despise corruption in whatever form presented, and work for the best interests of the development of our people and our country."

SAPPING THE VITALS OF THE COUNTRY

Right Rev. Dr. Mills, Bishop of Ontario, addressing his Synod said of the political crimes that there is now a tendency to tolerate these offences: "Our system of party politics, the unscrupulousness of its methods, and the depths of degeneracy to which it sometimes sinks are fast sapping the vitals of the country, and a wave of moral deadness, which has had its origin in political life, is sweeping over the land. Many men, honest and truthful in ordinary life, are dishonest and untruthful in political life, and the people love to have it so. It is said that a missionary in Japan was told by the Japanese—who knew all about our political conditions—that he had better go home and try to convert his own countrymen before coming to them. The root of the whole matter is in the abominable partyism which exists, and which will stoop to the use of any means to strengthen its hands. We are hastening on to the conditions which exist in the United States, where the nation is formally and permanently divided into two organized factions, recognized by law and managed by bosses who are professional tricksters and have almost complete control over American political life, directing it for selfish ends. The church has a duty to perform with reference to these matters. Her voice should be raised in earnest protest and her loyal sons and daughters should join hands to wipe out this disgraceful condition of affairs. Vote only for the man who is honest and patriotic, no matter to what party he belongs."

The Globe Confession

On November 7th, 1903, the Globe confessed to the rottenness. It said:

"The present distress has not come by accident or chance, or as the result of a change of Government policy, and not at all because of any growth of power or prestige in the Opposition. It has come through the cooling enthusiasm and the slackening effort of not a few Liberals. And the secret of it all is in the discredited election methods sometimes resorted to, and the activity of political parasites who make party service a means of private gain. Because of electoral corruption here and the prominence of party heelers there, Ontario Liberalism has lost something of its old-time self-respect and its note of confident and public-spirited enthusiasm has lost something of strength and resonance.

"There is but one thing open to the Liberals of Ontario, and that thing is their first and most pressing duty. The barnacles on the ship must be treated with an iron hand. The interests of the Liberal party are superior to those of any individual and the interests of the province are supreme over all. Half measures will not avail."

REASONS FOR A CHANGE

A GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TAMPERED WITH THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD GO

A general election of members of the Legislature of Ontario is now close at hand, and the condition of politics in the Province is such as to warrant a close examination of public issues by every elector, be he Conservative or Liberal. It is generally felt that the time for a change has come. The Liberal Government has been in office more than 33 years, an abnormal period of time for one party to be in power. Such continuous possession of patronage by one set of men and their dependents and families has produced many evils, and of recent years, especially since the present Premier, Mr. Ross, became head of the administration, the state of affairs has become deplorable. Resentful of the least suggestion that they should retire in the ordinary way, the members of the Government have resorted to the most desperate expedients to retain place, and Ontario—alone of all communities under the British constitutional system—has become a byword for corrupt elections and degrading political methods. People in the other Provinces of the Dominion are amazed at the conditions which prevail in Ontario.

The methods by which this long lease of power has been obtained may be classified into (1) gross and scandalous corruption, and (2) evasions and infractions of the constitutional system of government.

Corruption and Fraud

1. During the past six years a series of acts have been brought home either to the agents or principals of the Government which for oft repeated and cynical disregard of ordinary political morality is unparalleled in the British Empire. No one supposes that the mass of Liberal voters in Ontario approve or condone these practices, but it is undeniable that politicians calling themselves Liberals and trading upon the reputation of a great party are in office solely because illegal and improper methods have been committed to keep them there. The grosser rascalities in the record include such episodes as:

a. The West Elgin campaign, in which bribery, switching of ballots, the employment of ruffians to act as deputies under false names, the switching of ballots and other criminal acts were employed.

b. The burning of the West Elgin ballots in the Parliament buildings by agents of the Government to prevent an exposure of the frauds by which the election was carried.

c. The spoiling of ballots, as in the North Grey election, by placing marks upon a certain number of them so that the Conservative candidate was deprived of the seat.

d. The purchase of false testimony, as in South Oxford, as part of a conspiracy to unfairly unseat the Conservative member.

e. The attempted bribery of Conservative members, such as Mr. Gamey, member for Manitoulin; Dr. Reaume, member for North Essex, and Mr. Sutherland, member for South Oxford, either by payments of money, offers of patronage, or threats of litigation over election matters.

f. The voting of an immense sum of money, \$2,000,000, in the shape of a guarantee for the Sault Ste. Marie industries, by a slender majority made up of men who were personally interested in the payment of the money.

g. The violation of law and common decency in the Sault election by chartering the steamer "Minnie M.," and conveying a party of ruffians to a remote polling place, whose illegal votes swamped the votes of honest electors and secured the return of the Government candidate.

h. The employment of bogus ballot boxes so as to secure the defeat of Conservative candidates with a majority of the honest votes.

These are a few of the more flagrant outrages committed to sustain the Ross Ministry in office. Nothing in the history of Tammany Hall or any corrupt organization in the United States equals this record. No party could possibly win against such methods, which if persisted in and condoned could only end in popular violence and clamor.

Violation of the Constitution

2. That political leaders styling themselves Liberals should violate the constitution, so as to deprive the Province of the safeguards of British freedom, is an extraordinary thing, seeing that the Liberal party has always claimed to be the special guardian of liberty, enlightenment and progress. Yet it is a fact that various ingenious methods have been employed to defy the plain meaning and intent of the constitution, which is designed to guarantee equality of treatment to all the parties in the State; fair elections; a stated term for the Legislature to last; and that vacancies in the House by the death or resignation of members shall be filled within a reasonable period. The Government have violated every one of these safeguards. Responsible government has been reduced to the level of farce by the actions of a Ministry supported by a narrow majority of members, or at times none at all, and since 1902 not even enjoying the popular majority of the vote cast in the Province.

The Legislature Prolonged

During the session of 1901 the Ross Government introduced and passed an Act providing that the 1902 session of the Legislature, which according to the constitution expired on March 29, 1902, should not so expire, but that the House if in session should continue in existence until it was adjourned and for ten days thereafter. This bold attempt to set aside the constitution and extend the natural term of the Legislature called forth strong expressions of condemnation from all quarters. If the term of the Legislature for one session could thus be prolonged, in defiance of the plain letter and spirit of the constitution, why could it not be prolonged indefinitely, say for another four years, thus depriving the electors of their constitutional right to vote in a general election upon the policy and conduct of Ministers? This measure is a fitting illustration of the kind of politicians that now rule Ontario. In order to avert a political danger visible only to their guilty consciences, they would stop at nothing. They failed to see anything improper in the measure, and all the so-called Liberal members in the House voted for it. What did they care that the constitution distinctly provided for a Legislature lasting from a certain date in 1898 to a certain date in 1902? They were afraid that their own bad legislation might cause the Opposition to obstruct proceedings to that the House would not be able to get through its business in 1902 by the date set for dissolution, and, therefore, they altered the law to meet a possible political embarrassment. But the Opposition are not obstructionists. The House was allowed to conclude its labors previous

to March 29th, so that this discreditable law was never used, and stands as a monument to the character and policy of the present Government. It is mild language to say that the Act is a disgrace to the Statute book, is opposed to all the avowed principles and professions of the Liberal party, and is in itself sufficient cause to defeat the Government.

Another of the offences in constitution-tampering committed by these men, is in employing the referendum to dodge Government responsibility on the temperance question. A more striking example of political cowardice must be sought in vain. Ontario having power to alter its constitution, could adopt the referendum as a new feature in our system for obtaining the verdict of the electorate on measures passed by the Legislature. True, it would be a radical departure from the British model of responsible government we have, but Ontario could if it wished, discard the present system, and try another. Did the Ministers propose such a thing? No, they selected one question on which they proposed to shirk distinct pledges, and passed it on to the people to decide by means of a referendum. They invoked the referendum—just as they employed the Act prolonging the life of the House, to suit a particular contingency, and tide over a difficulty peculiar to the present Government, and in no respect justifying the evasion of the plain constitutional manner of proceeding. It is a natural sequence that although the referendum vote carried by a large majority nothing was ever done by the Government for the temperance people who had been deluded.

Governing Without a Majority

Another violation of the intent of the constitution was the clinging to office after the general election with a majority of one (and sometimes none at all), according as seats were vacated or having become vacant were kept vacant to suit the exigencies. In Great Britain a Ministry so situated would not hold office a single hour, but by manipulating the date of bye-elections the Ross Government has been enabled to evade the consequences of being in a minority. The voting through of the Sault guarantee by members who were interested in the outcome of the measure, although their votes were openly challenged in the House, was another departure from sound British principle, and would not be tolerated in that country by any set of men. The Liberal party in Great Britain would not dream of proceeding in such a way during a political emergency.

Yet another unconstitutional proceeding was the delay in holding the bye-election in North Renfrew, where, by the death of the Liberal member in June, 1902, there existed a vacancy which the ministers were afraid they could not fill by a supporter of their own. In consequence the constituency was left without representation for 18 months. When the election was finally forced on by an agitation throughout the Province, the seat was lost to the Liberal party.

The most recent and not the least flagrant violation of the constitution was the summoning of the Legislature to prevent the trial of certain election petitions which had been adjourned. The fate of the Government hung upon these trials, and they could not be proceeded with during the sitting of the House. By preventing the trial from proceeding the Government were thus enabled to tide over the session of 1904, to press forward the important and unjustifiable legislation regarding the Sault, and to continue administering the affairs of the Province, although their very existence as a Government was gravely in doubt.

SMASH THE MACHINE

THE AWFUL SYSTEM OF ELECTION CRIME IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES

Bribery, Corruption, Ballot Spoiling, Ballot Switching, Ballot Burning, Trick Ballot Boxes, Personation and Perjury

How the Electors of Ontario are Robbed by the Ross Government and its Agents

The expressions of opinion cited in the opening pages have reference to the dreadful election crimes which have been committed for the Ross Government by its election machine. That machine is a copy of a fraudulent system that has been in operation for years in the United States, and notably in the City of New York, where Tammany has ruled for so long.

It derives its money from tolls laid upon persons doing business with the Government, and the cash thus realized is laid out in the purchase of crime for the Government and its candidates. When the facts are known, the condemnations uttered by responsible persons will not be regarded as too severe.

The Revelations Imperfect

It is unfortunate that the revelations regarding the operations of the Ross machine are not complete. There are reasons for the sparseness of the information.

One of these reasons is the fact that nothing can be discovered except at the expense of private parties. An election takes place. Great frauds are committed. Hundreds of people are bribed. Others cannot be bribed. For these there is another treatment. Their votes are stolen. The personator votes for them. The ballot they have cast is spoiled. The ballot box, into which their votes are placed, is rifled or stuffed. A trick ballot box may, possibly, be used.

Now, these things are done for the Government. The Ross Government profits by the frauds. As the recipient of the stolen property the Government is careful not to take measures to find out the thefts, and to protect the people. The only action that is taken is the action of private parties. The great expense of litigation has to be borne by private individuals. While the private individual does a great deal, he cannot accomplish everything. His work is, therefore, not so complete as the work of a public prosecutor would be.

What is discovered is thus only a part of the story.

Tricks to Avoid Exposure

Another reason why we have not a full view of this iniquity is the circumstance that the Government when it knows that the truth has been discovered takes measures to prevent investigation.

For example: An election is given. There has been corruption and ballot box stuffing for Ross and his candidate. The private individual who has been asked to help defend the votes of the people has the facts discovered. The trial is called. The Government, if it thinks the prosecution does not know much about the case will allow the enquiry to proceed, in the hope that nothing will come out. But the moment the Government finds that the prosecution does know the particulars it throws up the case. That is to say, a plea of guilty is put in. This at once vacates the seat. No evidence is taken, and as a result the full facts are concealed.

This course has been pursued in numerous instances, and it explains the failure of the public to know the complete story of crime. What we have, it will be observed, is a slight surface indication.

The Crimes of 1898

The first series of election crimes came to view after the election of 1898, which was conducted by G. W. Ross. A few of them will bear relation.

188 Charges of Corruption

In Lennox 188 charges of corruption and fraud were made and Government officials were accused of wrong-doing. Mr. Aylesworth, the machine member, resigned his seat rather than stand a trial. Thus the inquiry into the work of the machine there was prevented. At a later trial—in Waterloo—it was admitted that the Government ballot box stuffers had operated in Lennox.

Nobody was prosecuted.

400 Charges of Corruption

In East Northumberland the Government candidate, Mr. Douglas, was elected by the machine. There 400 charges of corruption were made. After two cases had been enquired into the accused resigned the seat. One of the Liberal papers says the record of the trial was a story of "continuous treating, drinking and wholesale whiskey lushing."

There were no prosecutions.

Corruption by Officials

Mr. John Loughrin was the machine candidate in Nipissing. After the election Sheriff Varin declared him duly returned by a majority of 61. At the election trial held on November 1st, 1898, Sheriff Varin admitted that he had accounted for only 43 polling sub-divisions out of 45, thus ruling out a large number of voters.

It appears from the evidence at the trial that the Nipissing election was corrupt and that whiskey was used. Mr. H. J. Gilligan, the Crown Lands Agent at Mattawa, confessed as follows:

"I took much interest in the election of John Loughrin, and gave liquor to be used on election day; I purchased some six or eight dozen flasks, also some six bottles. I owe about \$75 in Papineau township, all spent for illegal purposes. I owe \$25 in Cameron township spent for corrupt practices."

Whiskey in the Contest

William W. Murphy said he had got \$300 of colonization road money on the recommendation of John Loughrin. He gave to voters whiskey supplied by Gilligan, the Crown Lands Agent. Samuel McMeekin testified that a valise two feet long, six inches high and eight inches wide and full of flasks of whiskey had been left at his house for use on election day in the interests of John Loughrin. He distributed the whiskey among voters.

The court unseated Mr. Loughrin and reported as guilty of bribery W. N. Murphy, B. J. Gilligan, (Crown Lands Agent), and Samuel McMeekin.

None of the parties were punished. The Government restored Crown Lands Agent Gilligan to his office and employed Murphy as its colonization road agent.

Mr. John Loughrin, in whose behalf the corruption was conducted, has been appointed stipendiary magistrate and registrar of Nipissing, with a salary of \$3,000.

\$10 Each in Halton

In the case of Halton, Mr. Barber dropped the seat after the hearing of the first few witnesses. It was proven that Government agents entered the constituency, and that from \$5 to \$10 each were paid for votes. In this case the truth was concealed.

Coercion in North Hastings

In the North Hastings bye-election on December 17th, 1898, the machine was prominent; but it failed to steal the constituency. Mr. Ross and Mr. Gibson were also present on behalf of Mr. Byron O. Lott, their candidate. Mr. Ross spoke at Coe Hill, and offered to build roads and bridges if his candidate were elected.

In this contest the machine exerted its railway subsidy influence. There was issued the following coercive circular to the employees of the Central Ontario Railway:

"The company requires every employee who has a vote in North Hastings to cast same in favor of the Liberal candidate on the 27th inst. You will be allowed off duty long enough to do this without loss of time.

"Please sign your name at the bottom of this letter and return same to me promptly as an acknowledgment that you have received, understand and will comply with request contained therein.

Yours truly,

GEORGE COLLINS,
General Superintendent."

The purpose of the circular was to force the men to vote for the Government. If they failed to do so they risked dismissal. Thus the Government strangled individual liberty as effectively as it robbed the electors by ballot box stuffing. Byron Lott has since become famous as the man who introduced trick ballot boxes.

Trickery in South Perth

Trickery in the printing and distribution of the ballots was practiced in South Perth. In the election for that riding there were three candidates and their names appeared on the ballot in alphabetical order, thus:

Mr. Frame,	(Patron)
Mr. Monteith,	(Conservative)
Mr. Moscrip,	(Liberal)

A number of ballots were so misprinted that the compartment in which the friends of Mr. Monteith should place their mark was opposite the name of Mr. Frame, while the compartment for Moscrip voters was opposite the name of Mr. Monteith.

These badly printed ballots were given only to Conservatives, who were faced with this dilemma: If they placed their cross opposite Mr. Monteith's name it might be counted for the Government candidate in whose compartment the cross would be. Again, whatever they might do, the returning officer might reject the ballot as spoiled.

The Government officers gave Mr. Moscrip the seat. But he was subsequently unseated for the corruption which formed a part of the proceedings.

The Machine Works for Dryden

In the fall of 1898 the machine elected Hon. John Dryden for South Ontario.

At the election trial in May, 1899, the veil was lifted a little way, and it was learned that the constituency was invaded by an army of workers who were stationed at various points, and that a regular orgie was entered upon.

Mr. W. V. Richardson, chairman of the Pickering Liberal Association, tells of the arrival of some of the workers. "Sim" Hewitt was one. Mr. Richardson says: "He was trying to find out who was to be bought this time. He was trying to find the doubtful voter." He worked with Capt. Sullivan, Government Timber Agent, at the Saul, who paid \$3 each for votes for Dryden. The average price for votes was \$3. The operators were well provided with money. Mr. Alex. Smith, the chief Liberal organizer, made the mistake of sending a \$100 bill instead of a \$1 to Mr. Richardson for the postage on the certificates to be sent to the scrutineers. Mr. Smith was very flush of money.

Paid to Go In Hiding

At the trial it came out that local men had helped the machinists and that these persons had been paid to absent themselves in order that the evidence might be suppressed.

Mr. Wm. Gorniley, Secretary of the Reform Association of Pickering township, testified that money had been paid to the operators to get away and escape the subpoena. Witness said he had spoken about the matter to Nelson Davey. On examination he testified:

Q. Mr. Davey was down looking over this thing for Mr. Dryden?

A. Yes.

Q. This was part of the plan to help these men to get away?

A. I suppose so.

Q. Who is Nelson Davey?

Witness said that Mr. Davey had been working in the Department of Agriculture.

Witness knew Mr. John Thompson.

Q. You have seen Dryden and Mr. Thompson together in Pickering in the course of the last election?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you tell him?

A. I told him I arranged to have these people go away.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said: "That's all right."

Witness had worked in the Agricultural Department (Mr. Dryden's) in March "and had spoken to Mr. Dryden about a permanent position."

Horrificed the Judges

The case was not fully investigated. But so far as it went it horrified the judges. Judge Oaler said:

"It simply revolts me to see a case in which there does appear to have been a very considerable expenditure of money if this little opening that we have had this morning indicates at all what has been going on in the riding. It revolts me to be obliged practically to stop where the investigators choose to stop with the reporting of a few trifling creatures who would take \$5. But the court is helpless."

Mr. Justice Rose added:

"In the present case it seems to me manifest that there has been a general scheme and much money spent and that the seat can no longer be held by the respondent.

Nine of the operators were reported by the judges as guilty, among them "Cap." Sullivan and Sim Hewitt. They were not punished. One "Cap." Sullivan is in the employ of the Government.

Pritchett Was There

The election trial, however, did not touch upon the ballot box stuffing, the switching and spoiling in the interests of Mr. Dryden. On this subject John G. Pritchett, a machinist who operated in the other constituencies, has made a confession. Pritchett was a member of the Liberal Association of London, and was an expert. He swears in an affidavit given on December 29th, 1899:

"From my experience in the various elections I formed the opinion that elections could be more easily won by manipulation of the ballots than by buying votes."

For the South Ontario election Pritchett, owing to his experience, was called in by John O'Gorman to "help to elect Mr. Dryden." In Toronto he swears he saw Alexander Smith, the chief Government organizer, who sent him on to Whitby. From Whitby Smith despatched him to Port Perry to meet Threlkeld, another organizer, who was to introduce him to the Deputy Returning Officers. At Port Perry he was given the names of some of these officials. One of them he educated in the art of "spoiling ballots." "He practiced it a while," says Pritchett, "and said he would try it again at home. He left me saying he would do a few."

Instructions in Fraud

The "spoiling of ballots" is thus described by Pritchett:

"So often as a deputy wishes to spoil a ballot he selects one properly marked on behalf of the other party, and while looking at it and holding it he makes a mark or scroll upon it with a bit of lead secured under the thumb nail of his right hand. Any mark will suit his purpose, for he himself is to be the judge whether or not it spoils the vote."

Pritchett conducted his educational work at Port Perry, and says he was sent by James Vance, a third organizer, to Myrtle and to Pickering. At Pickering he met a Mr. Richardson, a Government official, to whom, as he was to be a deputy returning officer, "I had explained the methods of manipulation." "We agreed," adds Pritchett in his affidavit, "he could easily handle ten in his division!" Subsequently, at Oshawa, an official whom he had interviewed at Myrtle came in under orders for instructions.

"I showed him," he says, "how to spoil and slip ballots. He practiced it and succeeded very well. He said he would keep at it until election day, and would do all he could."

Preston Was There

Pritchett swears that W. T. R. Preston, formerly Legislative Librarian, and now Immigration Commissioner in England, was present. He says he got from Mr. Preston money, which he distributed for bribery—\$3 per head—and that Mr. Alex. Smith paid him for his services.

Ballot-Stuffing in West Huron

West Huron was passed over to the Ross machine in the Federal bye-election of February 21st, 1899, and ballot box stuffing was practiced. The frauds were discovered from the figures. In No. 3, Goderich, the Conservatives usually have a majority, but this time 60 voted and only 32 were counted. In No. 4, Colborne, 40 voted, and only 30 were counted. Investigation into the crime was begun at Ottawa, but was stopped by the Government. John G. Pritchett swears that he was employed to teach ballot box stuffing, spoiling and switching, and that young men were brought to him by the dozen to learn how to cheat for the Government.

Corruption for Ross

The provincial election in West Huron was more noted for its corruption than for its ballot box stuffing. The trial took place in June, 1899. Hon. J. T. Garrow, Minister without Portfolio in the Ross Government, was the candidate.

It was proven that Alex. Smith, J. J. Trelkeld, Walter Vanstone, Jas. Vance, Cap. Sullivan, J. T. Linklater, etc., and a host of other organizers, were present. The constituency was mapped off into divisions, and an organizer, with assistants, was placed at each point. "Cap." Sullivan, who is an official under Hon. E. J. Davis, in the Crown Lands Department, went by the name of "Roberts." His proceedings and those of Linklater formed the chief feature of the judicial enquiry. Peter Deans, junr., swears that he attended Sullivan, alias "Roberts," at Wingham, and took him to persons whose names were on a list supplied to the party. The persons were offered bribes to vote for Garrow—at the rate of \$2 per head.

Linklater, according to Theophilus Finnan, paid \$2, and sometimes as high as \$4, for votes.

The seat was vacated before all the facts came out.

Sullivan disappeared. Linklater was paid \$100 a month to keep out of the way.

Hon. J. T. Garrow has been appointed to a judgeship by the Ottawa Government.

Ministers Send the Machine

Before the North Waterloo frauds commenced, Hon. J. M. Gibson and Hon. E. J. Davis visited the constituency and promised to send in the machine.

Simon Snider, Vice-President of the North Waterloo Reform Association, testified in court:

"Hon. J. M. Gibson and Hon. E. J. Davis, on the 11th of April in a meeting at the Walper House for the purpose of allaying some party differences, promised in speeches to send speakers and organizers into the riding to help the Liberals in the coming election."

When the contest opened the "organizers" promised by the Ministers attended as agreed.

Education in Fraud

The candidates were Mr. Lackner (Conservative) and Mr. Breithaupt. Two courses of procedure were pursued by the machine. One was the manipulating of the ballots, the other the bribing of the electors.

For the manipulation of the ballots special experts were introduced. A. R. Shantz testifies that he was poll clerk at No. 2, Berlin. He was taken by one Windfong to Thomas Lewis, of London, who was an organizer. He says:

"Lewis sat down and proceeded to tell me what was to take place. He said they proposed to pay \$5 for every ballot spoiled or switched. He took up a piece of paper and put a piece of lead into his thumb and showed us how to pick the ballot up so that when seen it was a spoiled ballot. He showed me how to switch ballots also, and said they would be worth the same. He said he could not pay for any more than 20, so that \$100 was the limit a man might make.

"Windfong told me Harry Cummings was in it."

Protected by the Government

Shantz proceeds to say that those officers who committed frauds would be protected by the Government.

"Lewis said we would be protected from trouble and that 'they' would protect us. I asked Lewis as to what would be done if there was a recount. He said we would have too large a majority for a recount."

In North Waterloo the machine provided officers with little bottles of cement with which to fix bits of pencil under the thumb nail for ballot spoiling purposes.

Shantz acted at No. 2, Berlin, at which Harry Cummings was deputy. There four votes were spoiled and 21 were switched.

Minister Davis Interferes

With respect to Cummings, John McDougall, the returning officer, testifies that he had dismissed him, but that Hon. E. J. Davis insisted upon his reinstatement as deputy. He says:

"Hon. E. J. Davis asked me why I did this, and further said: 'If that boy was your son how would you feel if he was put on and then taken off again.' It was after that I reappointed Cummings, but not for that reason."

This was the second interference by Mr. Davis in the fraudulent election. The first was when he promised to send in organizers. The frauds were proven to have been widespread. By the court Cummings and Windfong were found guilty; but they were not prosecuted for two years and then they escaped. The guarantee of protection given by Lewis, the Government agent, was observed.

Brought Home by the Machine

In its judgment the court said:

"The control and management of the campaign was taken out of local hands by the witness Smith, representing the Reform Association. He and those associated with him sought and obtained outside skilled assistance, and it was through them that Lewis came into the riding. He came and remained, and was throughout actively engaged, as I find, in working in the respondent's interest, with the knowledge and approval and upon some understanding with the witnesses, Smith and Vance, and was one of those associated with Smith in effecting the respondent's election."

Thus the responsibility was brought home to headquarters.

\$50,000 Spent by the Government

Corruption was also practiced on an elaborate scale. Henry Shantz swears that Lewis engaged him to buy votes at \$5 per head. Lewis said to him:

"I believe you're afraid you won't get the money. We have \$30,000, and we have \$30,000 more to get—and the money came from the Government. The money was right on the table in two big bunches. It was paper money. \$5, \$10 and \$20 so far as I saw."

"Lewis," he added, "offered to give us \$5 a vote; we could give the voters what we liked." A large number of persons testified to the bribery. Among them was one Albert Bossard. Bossard was a hotel keeper, and was engaged to distribute the cash. He said (*Globe*, Sept. 23rd, 1899) "That he got \$500 with further sums, to spend over the bar."

It was proven that "organizers" permeated the constituency and that money flowed freely. While the seat was vacated no punishments for corruption were sought by the Government.

Rewarded for Bribing

Bossard, who was introduced to Simon Snyder, the President of the Reform Association, by Mr. Devitt, the license inspector, as "a man who might be useful," received an extension of his liquor license from three months to a year, and was afterwards given a license at Penetanguishene. The license franchise is thus used by the machine.

The West Elgin Horror

Crime was employed by the Government in the carrying of West Elgin. Mr. Macnish, the Government candidate, confessed on June 26, 1899, as follows:

1. That a large number of persons were especially sent into the constituency by men working on behalf of the Liberal party for the express purpose of taking part on Mr. Macnish's behalf in the election held January 12th, 1899, and we believe that fraudulent and corrupt means were used by some of such persons to secure his election.
2. That some of the said persons illegally and without authority acted as deputy returning officers at the said election and in at least three cases so acted in the names of reputable local men, having, under assumed names, been introduced to the returning officer by local agents of Macnish.
3. That in many of the polling sub-divisions of the riding there were grave irregularities connected with the return of the ballot boxes and their contents, the voting, and the counting of the ballots.
4. That there were large numbers of persons sent into the riding for the express purpose of personating legitimate voters and assisted by some of Mr. Macnish's local supporters such persons did personate qualified voters in voting for Mr. Macnish.
5. That the declared number of votes for Mr. Macnish largely exceeded the number of bona fide votes cast for him.
6. That a large number of ballots cast for Mr. McDiarmid were in some nefarious and corrupt manner manipulated, whereby the result of the election was rendered doubtful, and in this connection the voting at Shedden and Middlesmarch and in several divisions in St. Thomas, where said strangers so acted as deputy returning officers, merits special mention.
7. That there are good reasons to believe that there are many specific and well authenticated cases where agents of Mr. Macnish concealed at their homes some of those strangers, who there paid large sums of money to electors to induce them to vote for him.
8. That Mr. Macnish will forthwith deliver to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly his resignation as a member thereof for the said electoral district.

Witness:
(Sgd.) A. B. AYLESWORTH.

(Sgd.) DONALD MACNISH.

Beginning of the Frauds

The election was opened by Mr. G. W. Ross, who delivered speeches in the constituency announcing that he was bent upon "building up Ontario." Four other cabinet ministers participated. Then Mr. W. T. R. Preston, who had been Government librarian, entered the riding accompanied by Alex. Smith, James Vance, and a number of organizers, including Cap. Sullivan and D. F. Macdonald, Government officials, and many persons unknown. Mr. Preston spoke at St. Thomas and said of the machinists:

"Not a man among them but has come here openly and at his own expense and out of the love of the cause of good government. When this election is over our opponents will not be able to put a finger upon any act of wrong doing."

After the election Mr. Preston telegraphed Mr. Macnish as follows:
Toronto, January 12th, 1899.

"DONALD MACNISH, St. Thomas.

"Heartiest congratulations. Sorry to the bottom of my heart I cannot be with you to-night.

"To be supported by such a noble army of workers, should make you the proudest man in Ontario. Shake hands with the boys for me, and hug the members of the much-abused threshing machine for Auld Lang Syne.

PRESTON."

Mr. Preston was on the following day appointed by the Federal Government Immigration Commissioner to England at a salary of \$3,000 a year and expenses. His salary has since been increased to \$5,000.

Discovery of the Frauds

The figures of the election surprised the people of West Elgin. On enquiry it was found that at one polling place, No. 6, Southwold, 104 voters had voted for MacDiarmid, but that only 85 had been counted. At No. 4, Southwold, 84 swore they had voted; but only 42 had been counted. At No. 7, St. Thomas, 91 had voted, but only 80 had been counted, while there were 36 more than usual counted for Macnish. This sort of thing prevailed throughout the riding. In addition, the bribery had been general, and bogus deputy returning officers had been employed under assumed names.

One officer was Duncan Bole, who operated as R. B. Stafford. He was a Government fishery officer and immigration agent, brought by the machine from the Sault. At his polling place 84 electors voted for Mr. MacDiarmid, and only 42 were counted for that candidate. Proceedings were entered against him, but the Government refused to prosecute, burned the incriminating ballots, and eventually got him off.

Another was Martin Cahill, who operated at No. 11, St. Thomas, as Albert S. Montgomery. He committed frauds, and escaped through the burning of the ballots and the refusal of the Government to prosecute.

Still another stranger acted at No. 4, St. Thomas, under the name of Stratford. He committed fraud, and was not pursued. Thomas Coleman introduced the alleged "Stratford" to the sheriff for appointment. Coleman has since been appointed License Inspector by the Government.

John G. Pritchett acted under the name of Marshall B. Johnson at No. 6, Southwold. He has taken an affidavit declaring that he was employed to go in and commit frauds, and that he "slipped" nineteen ballots, thus producing a majority for Macnish, when that candidate was really in a minority. Pritchett was paid for his services; also \$100 a month to remain out of the country until the trouble had blown over.

Burning the Ballots

When the frauds were discovered the ballots were the chief evidence against the machine. These were burned in the Parliament buildings in ad-

vance of legal proceedings. One of the officers who took part in the "accidental burning" of the testimony was James Robertson. His salary as messenger was \$500 a year before the ballots were burned. It has since been raised to \$600 by the Government.

Escape of the Guilty

No punishments have been inflicted. All the guilty parties have escaped. In order to aid in the escape, the Government appointed a commission to enquire into the election. This commission was restricted to an investigation of the acts of deputy returning officers. It discovered that there had been irregularities, but found no one guilty.

FRAUDS IN THE ELECTION OF 1902

While the contest of 1898, and the bye-elections which followed, were marked by gross frauds, the discovery and exposure of certain of these wrongs had no effect upon the machine. The Ross election instrument was ready to cheat the people in the contest of 1902, and for that purpose it was employed.

The machine went into the operation with all the more vigor and all the more assurance because the Government had come to the aid of all the workers. None of them were punished. Those who were pursued by the private prosecutors were aided to escape the country, and were paid during their period of exile. Those who remained in Ontario, or had been clever enough to keep themselves out of trouble, were given offices of one kind or another. Some workers were rewarded by the Ross Government; others by the Government at Ottawa.

RULE BY THE MINORITY

One of the expedients employed for this election was the extension of the Gerrymander system. Already the Province was unfairly divided. But the Government added four members to the Legislature—all of them in the northern districts. The object in view was not to aid the people of the north, but to get representation in places where the machine could most easily cheat the electors.

Constituencies with a population of but 10,000 or 12,000 people were established, although other constituencies had populations of from 20,000 to 50,000. The effectiveness of this plan to deprive the people of the right to rule, and to give power to a minority Government is shown by the results.

After the general election the situation was found to be this:

Total majorities of the political parties—

Conservative.....	21,145
Liberal	13,768

Conservative majority over the whole Province... 7,377

These figures were disputed by the Government, and a counter estimate was presented by the Brantford Expositor, one of the machine papers. The Expositor put the case thus:

Conservative majority	20,662
Liberal Majority	14,891

Conservative majority over the whole Province... 5,771

There is a difference in the count, but the fact remains the same. The Government had so fixed the representation as to get a majority in the House, although it had a minority in the constituencies. In other words, it had arranged to rule even though defeated. The vote, as cited above—the Conservative majority of 7,377—produced this result in the legislature:

Liberals	51
Conservatives	47
	—
Liberal Majority	5

What ought to have happened was this:

Conservatives	60
Liberals	38
	—
Conservative majority	22

As a matter of fact the Legislature was stolen in part by the gerrymander system.

Slippery Polling Booths

But the machine did not rely upon the gerrymander exclusively. Frauds of various kinds were introduced. One that was tried in North Hastings, where Byron Lott was the candidate, was the movable polling booth. An illustration was furnished in the village of Whitney. The polling was announced for the Foresters' Hall. On the night before election day Mr. Lott allowed the friends of his party to know that the polling booth was to be removed some eight miles out into the country. The anti-machine electors were not aware of this change. They discovered it by accident, and it was necessary to send them out by special train.

But the circumstance that these people voted was not allowed to affect the election. Their vote was ruled out because the deputy returning officer forgot to sign the poll book.

In this same constituency, the blind polling booth was invented. This was a booth from which the scrutineer of the candidate opposing the Government was excluded. With the scrutineer away the voting went as the machine desired.

Perjury Bought by the Government

EX-CONVICTS EMPLOYED TO SWEAR A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLA- TURE OUT OF HIS SEAT

The perjury case in South Oxford is one of the dark experiences of the public with the Ross Government. South Oxford elected as its representative a much-respected farmer, Mr. Donald Sutherland. This gentleman was pledged to oppose the evil system.

It was determined at Toronto, by the machine, that Mr. Sutherland should either turn over to the Government, or lose his seat. A protest was therefore entered against his election. Just before the trial opened Mr. Sutherland was approached by a representative of the ministers.

A Proffered Bribe

The story is told by Mr. Sutherland himself. He said in a public speech: "An uphill fight was fought in the riding and he had won. The loss of South Oxford cut them (the Ministers) to the quick. They had come to him with inducements to go with them and the day before the election protest came to trial they came to him and assured him there was a big thing in it for him financially, if he would do as asked—go over to them."

Mr. Sutherland refused the "big thing financially," and the trial went on. Meanwhile it was admitted by the *Woodstock Sentinel-Review*, the Government paper in Oxford, that Mr. Sutherland had been approached. That paper set up the excuse that Mr. Sutherland was supposed to be an independent when elected, and that friends of the Government for that reason may have asked him to support the Government.

Trying "To Bust the Election"

The trial of the case against Mr. Sutherland opened on October 15, 1902. Mr. G. H. Watson appeared for the Government, aided by J. B. Jackson, K.C., of Ingersoll. Hon. S. H. Blake, and Mr. Edward Bristol were for the defence.

The witnesses were called and the evidence was taken.

George Fournier swore that he had been paid by one Joseph Clark \$2 to vote for Mr. Sutherland. In cross-examination Fournier said he had been twice convicted for assault and battery, and once for being drunk and disorderly. He had also been proceeded against for perjury.

He had received \$10 or \$12 from one Fick, and \$5 or \$6 from J. B. Jackson, to say that he had been bribed.

John Keller was called to corroborate Fournier's story.

"Were you ever in jail?" asked Mr. Blake.

"Yes, once, about ten years ago," was the reply.

Elijah Harp then entered the box. He swore that Fournier told him they were trying "to bust the election," and that he could make \$10 by swearing that he had got money for his vote. Harp replied that he did not want money on such terms.

Charles Parker followed. He testified that Fournier had told him that he would get \$10 for swearing that he had been paid for his vote. He had received \$10 from J. B. Jackson, the Liberal agent, for so doing, and it was arranged that he was to swear that he was bribed either by Sinclair, Johnson or Clark. Mr. Clark was selected to carry the burden of the charge. The declaration charging bribery was drawn up in J. B. Jackson's office. Parker added that in answer to a telegram he had visited Jackson's office and that Jackson had told him there would be \$100 in it for himself, Fournier and Keeler if they swore to certain things. In Jackson's office, also, witness met Sutherland (George Sutherland), one of the party organizers, who told him that if through this affair he should lose his place, another place would be found him on the canal at the Sault.

The declaration charging that Mr. Clark had bribed was drawn up in the office of the Crown Attorney. Witness stated that it was quite untrue, and that he never intended to swear to it in court.

Jail Birds Testify

John Henderson was then called to swear that he had been bribed to vote for Mr. Sutherland. Henderson admitted that he had been in the Central prison, once for eighteen months, and once for eight months. The first time, in 1894, he was convicted of stealing \$100 and two gallons of whiskey. The last time he was in was in 1895. He had been in the Police Court for disorderly conduct and for burglary since then.

Ike Wright was called to confirm Henderson's story. He saw the bribe pass, and was shocked at the corruption that was taking place on behalf of Mr. Sutherland.

"Were you ever in jail?" asked Mr. Blake. "I was in the Central Prison on one occasion."

"But I have a list of nine convictions against you," said Mr. Blake, "and the last in March of this year. Shall I read them?"

The witness answered with a suave bow, "If you wish."

Mr. Blake then read the list, which included three sentences to the Central Prison. As the sentences were mentioned the witness said:

"They were giving me a lifer on the instalment plan."

Other Bought Testimony

William Mustard was called to testify that he had been bribed with 75 cents to vote for Mr. Sutherland.

He testified in that sense, and then stated in cross-examination that he had been paid \$10 to do so.

W. W. Avey was called to state that he had been paid \$1 to vote for Mr. Sutherland.

He made the statement, and then added that he had been promised \$10 or \$15 in cash and an allowance of \$40 on an account for making this declaration. The witness said that "J. B. Jackson had called upon him and had instructed him that if he was asked at the trial whether he had been paid for making the declaration, he need not say anything about it."

William Collins was called and swore that Mr. Stephen King, a respectable merchant, had paid him \$2 and had given him a galvanized iron pail to vote for Mr. Sutherland.

Mr. King denied the \$2, and proved from his books that Collins had been served with a pail for his then employer, against whom the pail was charged.

The Chief of Police testified that Collins had been in his custody several times, and that on the last occasion he was arrested for attempting to

commit suicide when drunk. The chief would not believe Collins, and three other witnesses testified that the man was a person of bad repute.

Conspiracy to Buy Evidence

During the trial the existence of a conspiracy to buy evidence was discovered. J. B. Jackson was put into the box by Mr. Blake. He admitted that he had paid Edward Chambers, of Woodstock, \$375 to procure evidence against Mr. Sutherland. Chambers had wanted \$1,500 or \$2,000, but Jackson had paid \$375 down and had promised to pay \$375 more if eight charges were substantiated.

Mr. Chambers has told the story in so far as he is concerned. He says: "Jackson came to my place and served me with a summons to attend the South Oxford trial. He then asked me to go to the Dufferin Hotel. He wanted a private room, which I took him to.

He then stated that I could make a good thing out of this protest business, as he thought I knew all about it. I told him I had not spent a dollar, nor did I know of any having been spent.

This was not sufficient for Mr. Jackson. He was bound to unseat Donald Sutherland at any cost, and I decided to see how far he would go in his dastardly work. He asked me what I would take to give him seven or eight names of people that were supposed to be bribed. I told him I would consider the matter. He made an appointment to meet me at my house the following Friday evening.

I immediately informed Donald Sutherland and other prominent Conservatives the desperate means Jackson was using to open up South Oxford, and we decided to have witnesses to hear what he had to say.

He came to my house about 9.30 and wanted to know if I had decided what I would take. I told him I would take \$5,000. He said that was out of the question, but thought \$2,000 would be a fair thing, he said he would pay me \$500 down and \$1,500 if the evidence proved satisfactory. Then he said if I would go into the witness box myself and give evidence that would unseat Sutherland and open up South Oxford I could get any amount I would wish to name. I then asked if it made any difference to him whether the evidence was true or false. He said it made no difference as long as it unseated Sutherland and opened up the riding. I told him I would not take a false oath for any amount of money.

Then he wanted to know about the names I would give him if they were included on the list of charges before the court. He said if they were not it would give him a lot of trouble and probably postpone the trial. I told him I had not seen a list of the names mentioned in the charges. He then said he would send me the complete list early Saturday morning, which he did. He also telephoned me to meet him at the Royal Hotel at 4 o'clock, which I did. He wanted to know if the names I would give him were on the list he sent me. I told him they were except one.

He said the amount was too much, that he had a communication from G. A. Ross and he laughed at paying me two thousand dollars for prospective evidence. "However," he said, "I am going to Toronto to arrange the matter and will call at your place Sunday evening when I get off the 'Flyer.'" He did call and stated that they thought \$2,000 too much, but had another proposal to make. They thought \$250 down and \$500 more if the evidence was satisfactory. I objected to cutting down the amount. He said: "I would not like you to drop out now, how would \$375 down and \$375 more if the evidence was satisfactory do." He also stated that if things went right he would give me \$150 out of his own pocket. To this proposal I agreed. He said he had the cheque with him, but could not pay the money until the bank opened Monday morning.

The above statement is absolutely true, and can be proved by reliable witnesses who heard the different conversations.

E. W. CHAMBERS."

The Conspiracy was Witnessed

It appears that there were witnesses to the conversation between Mr. Chambers and Jackson. Mr. Chambers had them there for his own protection. Their names were Samuel Smith and V. H. Francis, residents of Woodstock.

The sum of \$875 was paid over, and this money is now on deposit in a bank at Woodstock.

Condemned by the Judges

The attack upon Mr. Sutherland's seat was condemned by the court. Mr. Justice Street said:

"I must call attention to the improper, reprehensible means which have been proved here to have been devoted to an absolutely improper purpose. We cannot—it is impossible—to follow ramifications of such extent. I feel that in this case I cannot get out of my mind certainly the possibility of the course of justice having been affected by this expenditure of money. Mr. Jackson (the attorney in the case) has associated with men of the lowest possible character. It is evident he must have desired evidence to have been made to procure the proving of charges in this petition. There is no doubt of it. I have seen nothing like it in court in my experience before. How is it possible for me to trust it?"

Every charge was disproved, and Mr. Sutherland retained his seat.

Jackson Rewarded

The lawyer who was concerned in this plot to undo the verdict of the people was rewarded for his work. He was appointed by the Ottawa Government representative of Canada at Hull, England, at a salary of \$3,000 and expenses.

Mr. G. W. Ross, in a speech at Owen Sound on January 1, 1903, justified the conduct of Jackson and of his Government in this matter. He said:

"It was also untrue that the Liberal party had paid for false evidence in South Oxford. They had paid for evidence, and the principle was recognized under British law by rewards for convictions for murder."

This is a misreading of the law. The detective who traces a murder is paid, but the witnesses are not. Archbold's Criminal Pleadings, page 1,019, 22nd edition, says:

"It is a misdemeanor to incite a witness to give particular evidence, when the inciter does not know whether it is true or false."

Chief Justice Holt, in the Queen v. Darby, declared: "It seemed to be a common law offence to offer money to swear to a particular thing, whether it was true or false."

Thus, an offence against the law, which was to upset the verdict of the people, was paid for, by the Government, and the instrument of the Government was rewarded with an office.

The North Renfrew Scandal

A Constituency Disfranchised for a Year and a Half, and then subjected to Assault by the Machine

The disfranchisement of North Renfrew and the attack made upon it by the machine, are occurrences not less scandalous than the other election frauds.

Mr. Munro, the late Liberal member, was elected for North Renfrew, at the general election. A few days afterwards he died. The seat became vacant on June 1, 1902. No election was held to fill the vacancy until December 7, 1903. For one year, six months and a week was the constituency kept unrepresented.

Soon after the vacancy occurred the Liberal-Conservatives nominated their candidate, Mr. E. A. Dunlop. His opponent was Mr. J. Lorne Hale.

Everybody Waiting

Mr. Dunlop, after his nomination, commenced his campaign. He opened his committee rooms and met the electors. He was under the necessity of keeping himself in readiness for the contest, for he did not know from day to day when it would be held. This state of continual preparedness, forced upon him by the Government, made his campaign exceedingly expensive to him.

The failure to hold the election became a great public scandal. It was known that the Government was keeping the people disfranchised for its own purposes, and that an evil object was in view. Mr. Dunlop was being fined for daring to become a candidate, but that was not the entire secret of the attack upon the people's rights.

Mr. Whitney's Protest

On November 6, 1903, Mr. Whitney addressed an open letter to Mr. Ross protesting against the injustice that was being done to the people. He said:

Dear Sir:—As an elector of Ontario, as a member of the Legislature, and representing a large majority of the electors of the Province, I take it upon myself to write you this open letter with reference to the vacancy in North Renfrew.

The late member, Mr. Munro, died a few days after the general election of 1902, and the constituency is still without a representative in the Legislature after the lapse of nearly eighteen months.

About the middle of last session—I have not the exact date at hand—the existence of the vacancy was brought to the attention of the Speaker, who later on informed the House that he had issued his warrant directing the issue of the writ of election.

No attention has been paid to the Speaker's warrant, and the writ has not been issued, while bye-elections have been held in two constituencies, the vacancies in both of which occurred long subsequent to the death of Mr. Munro.

I desire to know by what right—or rather by what pretence of right or authority—you have interfered to prevent, or failed to bring about, the issue of this writ.

How dare you—presumably the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people—say, in effect, to the electors of North Renfrew that they shall be permitted to have representation in the Legislature just when, and only when, it may suit your purposes?

How much longer do you expect the patience of the people to last?

You may have a right to desire the reputation of a political freebooter, but you have no right, or shadow of right, to acquire it by the humiliation of the people, either of North Renfrew, or of the Province at large.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) J. P. WHITNEY.

Representation Conceded

This sharp demand upon the Government had its effect, and the bye-election was announced for December 7, just one month later.

The moment the announcement was made that the election was on a great army of men, under the charge of James Vance, entered the constituency. The men were sent there by the Government. "Mr. Vance is here," wrote the *Pembroke Advocate*, which was helping the Government.

The significance of the presence of the organizers becomes apparent later on, when Mr. Lorne Hale, the Government candidate, speaks of them.

Corrupt Appeals

In addition to whatever was done by the machine, corrupt appeals were made on the public money basis.

Mr. Latchford, the Minister of Public Works, appeared in the township of Bromley, and promised \$7,000 to the people for drainage purposes.

It was announced that the election of Mr. Hale would mean the granting of a railway subsidy for a road in the townships of Ross and Westmeath. "It is now up against the people of Ross and Westmeath," said a local organ, "to support Mr. Hale, and we are confident Mr. Hale will do all in his power to assist the company to complete the road."

It was also announced that the election of Mr. Hale would affect the grants for roads. It was claimed that under a representation favorable to the Government, a money grant had been secured. On the other hand, when the constituency was against the Ross Government, it received nothing. "During that period North Renfrew was a blank!"

Government Put Up the Money

Mr. Dunlop won. His majority was 599. But he did not retain his seat. The delays had cost him for election expenses \$7,278, and every act he or any person who might be regarded as an agent, had committed during the wait of 18 months, was subject to scrutiny as an election act. Thus, if some supporter, during the long wait, had treated, and it could be proven that that person was technically an agent, the act became a corrupt practice, and vacated the seat. Under these circumstances Mr. Dunlop determined to save money by abandoning the seat and to appeal again to the electors.

What happened on the other side came out in the course of a law suit entered against Mr. Hale, the Government candidate. In October of 1904 Ringrose Bros., of Pembroke, sued Mr. Hale for \$1,032, a livery bill incurred during the contest.

Mr. Hale had paid his own expenses under this head. He refused to pay the further claim, hence the suit. In the course of the examination of Mr. Hale that gentleman said he had paid out \$10,000—\$2,800 more than Mr. Dunlop had spent—and that all other expenses, over and above his personal expenses, were to be paid by the Ontario Government.

Mr. Hale's Accusation

The examination of Mr. Hale throws light upon the methods of the Government. It was as follows:

Q.—I understand the Government were sending people down here to run the election?

A.—That was the understanding I got in Toronto.

Q.—From whom did you get that understanding?

A.—From Mr. Stratton.

Q.—The Hon. Mr. Stratton?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Where?

A.—In the Parliament Buildings, Toronto; and Mr. Vance, the Liberal organizer, also told me that they were sending people down there to help run the election.

Q.—Whom did you expect would meet this bill?

A.—The Government.

Q.—That is the Ontario Government?

A.—Yes.

Q.—On what did you base your expectations?

A.—Well, I had not any expectation, only the Government said they were sending people down here to help run the election.

Q.—Who said that?

A.—Mr. Stratton.

Q.—They said what?

A.—That they were going to be responsible for everything; that all I had to do was to pay my personal expenses.

Q.—Did you pay anything more than your personal expenses?

A.—I certainly did.

Q.—Would you give us an idea of what you paid beyond your personal expenses, just in round numbers?

A.—It cost me about \$10,000.

Q.—Over and above your personal expenses?

A.—Yes.

\$40,000 Spent by the Machine

Mr. Hale testifies that he spent \$10,000 over and above his personal expenses on behalf of the Ross Government, and then went on strike. He would pay no more. In an interview Mr. Hale added these facts:

"The bill was not incurred by either myself or any of the gentlemen belonging to the local organization, but by the agents of Mr. Vance and the Ontario Government from Toronto.

"This is not the only bill left unpaid by the Toronto people, there being some \$8,000 altogether, of which I had nothing to do with.

"Every bill of expense that I received has been paid, and amounts altogether to some \$10,000, and I think in all fairness to me that these debts which the Toronto men incurred should have been paid immediately.

"At the time of the election there were numbers of Toronto workers here, and the demands made upon me were heavy, but I met them at the time and everything done by our local organizations and all debts incurred in my behalf were paid promptly, and I think it gross unfairness to me that these other bills were not paid at once and save this suit, which is not of mine, but should rightly be brought against Hon. James Stratton and Mr. James Vance."

Net Result of the Scandal

The net result of the scandal is this. The Government kept the constituency disfranchised for eighteen months. When forced to hold an election it sent an army of operators into the riding and incurred huge bills, which its candidate, who had already spent more than \$10,000, refused to pay.

What the full amount of money spent by the Government in corruption and fraud was it is impossible to discover. Some friends of the Government put the expense of maintaining the army of occupation under Vance at \$40,000. The carnival was not enquired into, and the facts were never fully brought out. Mr. Hale was defeated. Therefore there was no investigation.

FRAUD IN NORTH PERTH

THIS CONSTITUENCY WAS STOLEN, AND THEN TRICKS WERE INVENTED TO AVOID THE TRIAL

In North Perth Mr. J. C. Monteith (Conservative) and Mr. John Brown (Liberal), were the candidates at the general election. Mr. Monteith was declared elected by a majority of 2. A protest was entered on the ground that a voter had by mistake cast the ballot of another voter of the same name.

On October 28, 1902, the case came for trial. The *Toronto Globe* reports the proceedings thus:

"It was shown that of two men by the name of James Fraser, both formerly living in Stratford, one had moved outside prior to the election, and on polling day, he, thinking he still had a vote in the city, marked the ballot he obtained for Monteith, and it was counted, while the Stratford Fraser, coming later, received a tendered ballot and it was not counted.

"This difficulty being adjusted, the vote was left a tie, and after the two candidates had formally declared their innocence of any corrupt acts in their behalf a new election was ordered.

"There was no criminal intent on the part of the Mr. Fraser who voted for his namesake. The act was a mistake."

Traces of the Machine

The election to fill the vacancy thus created took place on January 7, 1903. There was a fierce campaign and a surprising result. Mr. Brown, the machine candidate, was elected by a majority of over 200. There was a strange change in Stratford. In the election of 1902, there had been a Conservative majority in that city of 98, but in 1903 the machine secured a majority of 138. This was a turnover of 236 votes. It was clear that there had been either bribery or fraud.

"Cap" Sullivan Again

James T. Nelson, of Buffalo, who testified in the former case, declared in his affidavit that he had been engaged by Cap. Sullivan for work of an improper character. Certain men were despatched from Buffalo to the constituency, and under the guidance of local politicians did the work required of them.

No less than 124 charges were made in this case. There were included in the bill of particulars accusations against Mr. G. W. Ross and Mr. Stratton in connection with bribery proceedings.

Efforts to Escape Trial

By the Government efforts were made, first to postpone the trial and afterwards to throw it over altogether and to seat Mr. Brown, although he had been corruptly elected.

On Dec. 7, 1903, the machine appealed to the courts to remove the case from the docket on the ground that the trial ought to have taken place some months earlier. The judges at once decided that their inability to hold the trial did not excuse the corruption, if any had taken place; nor did it warrant Mr. Brown in holding a seat to which he had not been properly elected.

Another Trick

The date for the trial was then fixed. January 7, 1904, was the day. Immediately that this date was decided upon by the courts the Government summoned the Legislature to meet on that very day.

This was another manoeuvre to postpone enquiry and to allow the man who was not properly or legally elected and who was not, therefore, a member, to sit and vote in the House.

Mr. Brown sat all through the session.

Fraud Admitted

It was not until September 6, 1904, that the case came for trial. The stolen property was held by Mr. Brown from January 7, 1903, until September 6, 1904—twenty months!

When the trial opened it was proven that one John Collins, a worker for the Government had bought a vote for \$5. The counsel for the Government, Mr. Aylesworth, at once threw up the sponge.

Further enquiry was thus stopped. Mr. Brown was unseated and no more evidence could be taken.

Much was Hidden

Under the law of Ontario, a single case of bribery does not unseat a man who has a large majority. There must be sufficient corruption proven to indicate that the large majority was produced by illegal means. Mr. Brown had a majority of 206; yet the seat was abandoned after one case of corruption had been proven. Why was this? It was because there had been corruption, personation and fraud on a large scale and the Government decided that it would be better to give up the seat without a struggle than to have the enquiry and to allow the facts to come out.

Machine Work in North Grey

LITTLE CROSSES PLACED ON BALLOTS TO SPOIL THEM—TRICKS OF A MIN- ISTER TO AVOID EXPOSURE

In North Grey, at the general election, the candidates were Mr. George M. Boyd, the former Conservative member, and Mr. A. G. McKay, an Ontario Government official, who temporarily abandoned his place, in order to run for the machine.

When the final count was made Mr. McKay was reported to have a majority of 9. Under these circumstances it was within the right of Mr. Boyd to call for a recount; but strangely enough Mr. McKay, to whom the seat had been awarded, suddenly took action looking to a recount, thus ruling Mr. Boyd out. What the machine wanted was an examination of the ballots under its own auspices.

The recount took place before Judge Morrison at Owen Sound, and as it went on McKay lost votes. Finally his majority dropped to 1, and it was apparent that it would not long stand at that figure. At that crisis it was discovered by McKay's counsel that 4 of the ballots marked for Mr. Boyd had been spoiled by the affixing to them of little faint crosses that ought not to have been there.

The judge disallowed the ballots thus spoiled, and as a result McKay held the seat.

The Little Crosses

All the little crosses were on ballots from polling division No. 9, St. Vincent. All of them were on ballots marked for Mr. Boyd, and there were none on the ballots marked for McKay.

The elector had had his ballot and had made his cross for Mr. Boyd. Then with another pencil a small cross had been made up against the name of Mr. McKay, by some other person. How the crosses got there was and still is a mystery. They were not noticed when the ballots were being counted in the polling booth. They did not come to light until the majority of McKay was disappearing.

There were 30 electors in the division who voted for Mr. Boyd. They all swear that there were no little crosses on the ballots when they marked them and folded them up.

When Were the Crosses Added ?

Besides the testimony of the voters there are affidavits from the deputy returning officer and the scrutineers stating that the little crosses were not observed by them.

John H. Carson, the deputy returning officer, swears: "I added up and counted all ballots, and I did not see any ballots in such division that had two crosses upon any of them."

Thomas Buchan, the Liberal scrutineer, says: "I saw all ballots counted and added up, and state that there were no ballots with two crosses thereon."

James Goudy, the Conservative scrutineer, swears: "All ballots counted

for the said George M. Boyd were properly marked, and there were none counted for the said George M. Boyd that had two crosses on them."

John Kennedy, another scrutineer, swears "that there were no ballots at said polling divisions with two crosses on."

Yet, the crosses were found to be on the ballots at the moment when their discovery would give a majority to Mr. McKay.

"Judge Morrison, in delivering his decision, said that it was undoubtedly a case of the gravest suspicion. He was clearly of the opinion that these ballots had been tampered with since they were counted on the night of election. He would allow them for Mr. Boyd if he had jurisdiction to do so. He was, however, of the opinion that in law he was bound to deal with the ballots as he found them in their present condition, and he therefore was constrained to reject them."

Work of the Machine

It is clear that the spoiling of the ballots was the work of the Ross machine, operating through some of its agents.

The Ross Government took no action with regard to this affair until it had been forced to do something. Then it sent Mr. Æmelius Irving to make enquiry as a Commissioner, and no report was ever published as coming from this gentleman. If Mr. Irving told how the fraud was committed the Government kept the truth back.

The Farmer's Sun commenting upon the fraud said: "Had a bank been robbed in North Grey the provincial detectives would have been sent immediately to the scene with instructions to investigate the case and run down the guilty parties. The fact that the case has a political bearing affords in our opinion no reason why equally strong action should not be taken in regard to it." "Ballot manipulation is one of the most dangerous crimes it is possible to commit against the state. The importance of punishing it rises above all party considerations, and all resources of the Province should be used, and used with the utmost vigor, to secure the punishment of the wrong-doers."

McKay Drops Out

The ballot irregularities were not restricted to this case. They were shown to have been general. Some ballot boxes were returned without poll books. Some poll books were blank. One deputy returned a mass of ballots and papers but no box. In some polls votes for Mr. Boyd were not counted at all.

McKay gave up the seat. The Government could not stand an investigation. A new election followed on January 7, 1903. In this contest a queer result was discovered. Owen Sound gave Mr. Boyd a majority of 137 in 1902. In the bye-election McKay got a majority of 58 in the town, although the supporters of Mr. Boyd stood firmly by him. There was a change here of 195 votes. In Meaford there was a like phenomenon. There was a change of 88 in favor of McKay.

An Offer of \$10,000

The election was protested. In August, at a gathering at Dundalk, Mr. Boyd revealed the fact that he had been approached with a view to allowing the protest to drop. The sum of \$10,000 had been offered him to withdraw, he said, but he had refused to consider such a proposition.

Meanwhile the election was made the subject of enquiry. Investigation had only begun when James T. Nelson, of Buffalo, came forward with an affidavit in which he swore that Captain Sullivan had engaged him to do work for the Government in North Grey and two other constituencies. Said the Captain: "We are going to have three elections in Ontario, and we are

looking for assistance; the Government has plenty of money, and as it was necessary to carry the elections it was willing to pay the price." It was arranged that Nelson should employ eight other men, five of whom were to work in North Grey.

The five for North Grey "were to report to local Liberals, who were named, and were to do the buying of votes for them or under their instructions. All the work is stated to have been paid for by Captain Sullivan, but there was an unpaid account of \$135, and it was because of this that Nelson gave the story away.

"Cap." Sullivan Absent

The charge of Nelson was brought up at the trial, which began in September, 1903, and the accuser was present to substantiate it. He gave his testimony, whereupon certain of the local party men were called to deny the statements. Captain Sullivan was not called by the defence.

After argument the trial judges decided not to accept the evidence of Nelson as proven. In the first place they held that he was not a reputable man or he would not engage in such work. Then they were influenced by the denials. Further, there was the fact that Sullivan was not shown to have been an agent of McKay. The circumstance that Cap. Sullivan had not been appointed an agent of McKay was in the opinion of the court material.

The Trial Stopped

The trial was postponed from September to December 12. In the meantime McKay was taken into the Government as a minister. It was claimed that this automatically vacated the seat. The representatives of the people declined to take this view, and the trial was re-commenced, with 300 cases of bribery and of fraud to enquire into.

At the opening of the adjourned trial the secretary of McKay's organization was put on the stand to produce the books. He swore that they had been destroyed. He, however, admitted that money had been received from C. M. Bowman, the M.P.P. who had a share of the "rake-off" from the Sault contracts. The investigation was proceeding and a good deal was about to come out, when the Government dissolved the House, and notified the judges by telegram from the clerk of the House that such action had been taken.

This stopped the investigation.

A Carnival in North Norfolk

THE FACTS ARE DISCOVERED, AND THE SEAT IS DRAMATICALLY SURRENDERED

In North Norfolk the Government confessed corruption and fraud, before the courts. The machine candidate was Archibald Little. After his election the seat was protested.

A series of charges involving Ministers of the Crown, especially Mr. Harcourt, was made. It was stated that the Buffalo operators had been imported to work fraudulently, and that besides the bribery and the ballot box manipulations, there had been a wholesale distribution of liquor, at which the license inspector winked.

The trial was called for September 27, 1904.

Pleaded Guilty

On the assembling of the Court the prosecution began to produce the evidence. One case was proven. It was shown that a man named Baker, who had no means of his own, had been around buying votes at from \$5 to \$10 per head. Several such purchases were attested to.

Although the agency of Baker had not been proven, the counsel for the Government agreed that the seat should be given up. This action prevented the completion of the enquiry. It was taken to cover up the crimes and to prevent exposure.

THE CENTRE BRUCE OUTRAGE

EFFORTS TO HARASS AND UN- SEAT THE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Major Hugh Clark was elected by the people of Centre Bruce at the general election. He conducted a clean contest. Nevertheless his seat was protested.

At the same time the seat of Minister of Education Harcourt, for Monck, was protested by the Conservatives. In order to limit the litigation following elections the Government sought out the lawyers for the Opposition and offered to abandon certain cases if the other side would reciprocate. It was agreed that the trials of Mr. Harcourt in Monck and of Major Clark in Centre Bruce should not be gone on with.

A Breach of Faith

Faith was kept with Mr. Harcourt. The protest against his election was dropped. But Mr. Harcourt did not drop the protest against Major Clark.

On the contrary, the attempt to unseat Mr. Clark was pushed with vigor. Mr. Harcourt, who was guilty of this breach of faith, blamed it upon Mr. G. W. Ross. He said Mr. Ross would observe no terms.

Centre Bruce was ransacked for evidence against Major Clark. Money was offered for witnesses to testify against him. The trial took place, in the ordinary course, and all that could be charged was that an elector named McClure, a Liberal hotel keeper, who had lost his license, had favored the election of Mr. Clark, out of revenge, and had treated three persons on election day. For the offence of McClure, a Liberal, a man whom Mr. Clark did not know, the seat was vacated.

Another Attack

Mr. Clark was triumphantly re-elected. Mr. Ross appeared in the constituency and sought to urge the people to defeat him, but his majority was increased.

Another effort was then made to unseat Mr. Clark. A protest was entered against him, and an attempt was made to buy evidence.

When the case came to trial on September 27 the admission was made that there was no case, and the proceedings dropped. The machine knew that there was no bribery or fraud in the election of Mr. Clark, and it entered the protest in order to secure if possible a "saw-off" under which the seat for the Sault would be left in the hands of Mr. C. N. Smith, the machine member.

Chief Justice Moss said of Clark's election:

"The election was of a pure character and the respondent can boast of it. It must be gratifying to Mr. Clark to find that by his own efforts he has succeeded in carrying the constituency."

Liquor Flowed Freely

HOW EAST MIDDLESEX WAS WON BY THE CANDIDATE OF THE MACHINE

As stated already, Major Clark was unseated because a Liberal, who was in a state of discontent with his party, treated three people without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Clark.

In East Middlesex there was an orgy of treating. Dr. Routledge was the Government candidate, and the evidence went to show that at all the hotels on the road there was treating by wholesale, either by Dr. Routledge, or by his agents, and that there was treating at or after meetings. In one case the employees of a factory were addressed by Dr. Routledge, and treating followed.

A Queer Defence

The defence put in by Dr. Routledge was in these terms:

"The doctor said he was a great smoker, smoking from 12 to 20 cigars a day. When going into a bar it was his invariable custom to treat all in the bar. He estimated that for from 18 to 25 years he had spent from \$2 to \$4 daily over the bar.

Mr. Cassels.—You treated at most places where you went with Vining?

Dr. Routledge.—Wherever we stopped to water the horse we treated, calling everybody up.

The election was a mass of treating, mitigated somewhat after the nomination. It was argued that as it was the custom of the candidate to treat the treating was not against the law, and this defence was allowed to hold good.

Minister Davis in North York

DROPS HIS SEAT TWICE FOR CORRUPTION ON HIS BEHALF

The case of Mr. E. J. Davis in North York is without example. Mr. Davis lost his seat twice in two years. He was elected at the general election over Mr. T. Herbert Lennox, the able advocate of the Conservative cause in the constituency. As corrupt practices prevailed, \$20,000 being spent by the machine, the seat of Mr. Davis was protested.

Glad to Resign

When the time for the trial drew near Mr. Davis became nervous, and finally Mr. Lennox received a proposition that the case should be dropped—Mr. Davis retaining the seat—on payment of \$5,000 to him. This offer Mr. Lennox refused to entertain.

Then an advance was made looking to the vacating of the seat by Mr. Davis on payment by Mr. Davis of all the expenses so far incurred. This proposition was laid before Judge Morgan, who acted as intermediary, and it resulted in the signing of a document stipulating that Mr. Davis should pay the costs and abandon the seat.

The Terms Revealed

The arrangement was not to be made public until the period of the trial drew near. But it happened that on January 6, 1903, the day before the elections in the three Norths, the announcement was made by the *Toronto Globe* that the case against Mr. Davis had been abandoned. This statement was made to : : : the contests then pending.

A reply was at once : : : that the situation was the other way round. Instead of the case against : : : Davis being abandoned, the seat of Mr. Davis had been surrendered. Mr. Davis upon seeing this statement in print, telegraphed as follows to Stratford, under date January 7:

"Contradict absolutely the rumor that I have either resigned my seat in the Legislature or the Government.

E. J. DAVIS."

Thereupon there was produced the following document which Mr. Davis had signed on January 2:

"I, Elihu James Davis, hereby declare my intention to resign my seat in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, for the North Riding of York.

R. A. GRANT,
JAMES BAIRD.

E. J. DAVIS."

It appears that the denial of Mr. Davis was prompted by Mr. Ross, who gave a denial to the papers on his own account. The facts in this case are these: The election was corrupt, the minister admitted it, and resigned in consequence, paying all the costs.

Another Corrupt Election

At the bye-election which followed, Mr. Davis was again returned, and in the same way. The election was protested and went to trial. The charges were very numerous. Among them was one that a company—the Lake Superior & Albany River Railway Company—looking for a land bonus from the Ontario Government, was required to put up \$5,000, which was used in corrupting the electorate. Another was to the effect that the Central organization of the machine in Toronto had furnished \$9,000 with which to corrupt the constituency.

The trial began on September 20, 1904, and several acts of bribery were gone into. It was charged and proven that among the persons employed as organizers for Mr. Davis, was one W. J. Robinson, who had been reported for corruption in North Grey. It seems that the Government had experts for this election.

The employment of an organizer who had been reported, vacated the seat, and further evidence was ruled out. The charge that \$5,000 had been secured from the Lake Superior & Albany River Railway Company was not investigated.

Thus the second corrupt election by this minister came to an unsatisfactory conclusion.

THE AWFUL SOO ELECTION

PERSONATION AND PLUGGING— CRUISE OF THE "MINNIE M."

The Sault election took place on October 27, 1903. The candidates were Andrew Miscampbell, Conservative, and C. N. Smith, nominee of the Government. Mr. Smith was elected by a majority of 242.

Fraud from the First

This election was conducted for the Government by experts. At the opening of the contest there was trouble in the registration of voters. Attempts were made on behalf of the Government to plug the manhood suffrage registration lists. These were to some extent frustrated.

In addition to plugging, personation was practiced. On election day one Dan Milford was arrested while plugging or personating in the interests of Smith. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of \$400.

Curious Changes in the Vote

When the vote was figured out some strange changes were found in it. For instance public opinion had changed within a year at the points named in this way:

	Con. Vote.		Lib. Vote.	
	1902.	1903.	1902.	1903.
Helen Mines	3	0	15	25
Wawa	23	5	26	38
Michipicoton	12	12	19	59

These remarkable manifestations of fervor for the Ross Government were afterwards explained.

Huge Wages Payments

One of the preliminaries to the election was the payment by the Government of the wages of the workmen who had been thrown out of employment, and had been deprived of what was due to them, by the closing of the Sault works. These payments were made, as the public announcement declared, to prevent distress and to avert rioting and bloodshed.

Among the "wo men" thus paid, were all the high officers of the company. The following allowances were made for two months' service in each case:

Cornelius Shields, manager	\$6,692
William Coyne, vice-president	1,606
J. S. Wynn, controller	1,455
D. D. Lewis, superintendent	2,745
A. H. Chitty, treasurer	969
T. E. Donahoe, secretary	602
W. H. Cawell, purchasing agent	500
E. A. Sjosteat, metallurgist	1,302

Officers drawing \$12,000 and even \$30,000 a year were actually paid out of the provincial funds to "save them from distress." These payments were made obviously to secure for the Government the sympathy and help of the staff in the election that was impending.

Lighting the Furnace Fires

One of the incidents of the contest was the lighting of the fires in the closed industries. Many people, of course, hoped for a speedy re-opening. Attorney-General Gibson appeared just before election day and announced that arrangements had been made by the Government to open the works. In proof of this statement he intimated that the fires were being lighted. On the morning of polling smoke was seen issuing from the chimneys, but the day following the election the smoke ceased to curl upward. The statement was a deceit.

Organizing the Machine

At the trial 213 charges of corruption and fraud were made. On examination C. N. Smith, the Government candidate, swore that Vance, the Government organizer, had advised that George Sutherland be placed in charge of the campaign. He also admitted that large sums of money had been furnished for the contest, and that of the amount thus found James Conmee, M.P.P., who had the "rake-off" on the Algoma Central Railway contract, and a large claim against the Sault Company, provided \$1,504.

Among the workers sent out to capture the constituency for the machine were the following:

George Sutherland, official organizer; Jack Kennedy, a second organizer; J. D. Lamonte, a third organizer; Joseph Maughan, H. N. Young, Thos. Wigg, Crown Timber Agents; Nelson Harman, Provincial Constable; Alex. McIntyre, Justice of the Peace and License Inspector; W. D. Nichols, Indian Land Agent; H. A. Madden, Postmaster of Steelton; W. T. Kilpatrick, Postmaster and Mayor of Copper Cliff; William Godwin, dispenser of Colonization road moneys and Mayor of Steelton; John Boyd, Inspector of Colonization roads; Dr. James McLurg, Jail Surgeon at the Sault.

"Rounding Up" Voters

The evidence adduced in Court showed that there had been a systematic plan for the bringing in of persons from outside to vote on election day. Men were gathered at North Bay, at Copper Cliff, at Port Arthur, and at other points and were despatched to the Sault to vote. Their fares were paid. They were boarded, and they were remunerated for their services.

There was also a great deal of corruption. Men were paid to vote. Offices were promised, and considerations, such as land or mineral grants, were offered.

Cruise of the "Minnie M."

But of all the criminal operations that were revealed the case of the Minnie M. was the worst. A few days before the polling Attorney-General Gibson was at the Sault. During the course of his meeting the following letter from Mr. Miscampbell was presented to him:

Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., Oct. 24.

The Hon. the Attorney-General of Ontario, now at Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.:—

Sir.—As Conservative candidate of this riding at the bye-election now being held, and in regard to which you are to advocate the claims of your Government to further support, I desire to draw your attention to a dastardly outrage which is now being attempted by the local Liberal party, the agents of the Reform candidate, with the manifest design of fraudulently and illegally capturing the election for the Reform candidate by personation on a large scale. This attempt, sir, you have the power to prevent.

I have learned upon substantial grounds and upon substantial grounds I now state to you that a steamboat has been chartered in this town by those working for the Liberal candidate for the purpose of carrying from this town, and from the American city opposite, about 100 persons collected by those working in the Reform cause, to the polling subdivisions of Michipicoton district, where they do not reside, and where they have no right of franchise at this election, to steal by personation or otherwise the votes of persons, and to legally vote in the stead of persons on the list in those subdivisions who have long ago left, and who have no right to vote, although on the list. The steamboat that has been chartered is the Minnie M. of the Algoma Steamship Line, now in this port, and will sail tonight or tomorrow with its carload of illegal voters to stuff the ballot boxes of that district. I lay these facts before you, sir, as the Attorney-General of this Province and as the chief judicial executive thereof, and in the name of law, honesty, right and justice, I do protest against this outrageous and iniquitous attempt to strangle the voice of the people and render impossible a fair election; and I do demand of you that such steps be taken immediately under your immediate direction as will prevent and render impossible the perpetration and carrying out of so gross a fraud upon the rights of people to a clean and pure election.

I draw your attention to the fact that there is not at or near any of the polling places in the Michipicoton district any adequate force for the prevention of such frauds as are now referred to, or for the arrest of the offenders. These men, after having done what is required of them and debauched the election will doubtless be landed at the American Sault, and will be free men as others have been before. I point out to you the urgency of employing a strong force to make arrest in these places of such persons as may have committed breaches of the law, and to take such measures as are open to you to prevent the transportation of those men for such illegal purposes.

I beg to remain, sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. MISCAMPBELL.

Touching the presentation of this letter to the Attorney-General, the *Toronto Globe* thus spoke on October 27:

"A feature of the meeting was the appearance of a lawyer named Boyce on behalf of the Conservative party. Mr. Boyce read an open letter from Mr. Miscampbell to the Attorney-General, stating that it was reported that the Liberals had hired a boat to the Sault and Michipicoton for the purpose of personating dead men, and Mr. Gibson was asked to set the machinery of the law in motion to prevent such a shameful proceeding. The Attorney-General thought it was a poor compliment to the people of the riding to say

that any such thing spoken of in the letter was contemplated. It looked like a desperate play on Miscampbell's part to let himself down lightly. The Attorney-General was not an ordinary policeman, and therefore could not be expected to take any steps to prevent the alleged attempt to personate.

"The machinery of the law was here, and if any officer did not do his duty when called upon, the matter should be reported, when he would see that it was done or the officer was dismissed."

The Attorney-General was thus apprised of the attack upon the polling booths by pluggers, but excused himself from action on the ground that he was not a policeman.

Pursuit Frustrated

As the head of the law department of the Government refused to act, Mr. Miscampbell's friends chartered a steamer, the Ruth, to follow the Minnie M. and carry scrutineers to the polling places she was making for.

The fact that the Conservatives were about to send off the Ruth in pursuit was known to the machine operators, and they at once served notice upon the captain that if he left the dock with scrutineers on board he would be prosecuted for carrying passengers without a license so to do.

Thus, the Ontario Government could not interfere to stop the Minnie M. which carried thieves to the polling booth to steal the votes of the people, but it was sharp to stop the movements of the Ruth, which were designed to prevent that iniquity.

Story by the Crew

The story of the proceedings with the Minnie M. is told by the witnesses thus:

Nicholas Cole, the purser, says:—The steamer belonged to the Algoma Central Steamship Company—the Sault Works—and was under the jurisdiction of Mr. Coyne. (Mr. Coyne is one of the American gentlemen whose "wages" were paid by the Ross Government, his share being \$1,606.) On the Saturday before the election provisions were taken on for 100 passengers. At 2 o'clock next morning Mr. Coyne brought on board a Mr. Ferguson. (It was by the name of Ferguson that Lank Kennedy, a Government agent, went on this trip.) Ferguson was followed by P. J. Galvin, an employment agent at the Michigan Sault.

On Sunday morning the Minnie M. crossed to the Michigan Sault, where Mr. Coyne pointed out some six or seven half barrels of beer, a 10-gallon jug of whiskey, a case of whiskey, a lot of cigars—all of which he ordered to be taken on board. Then Mr. Coyne informed the purser that further instructions would be given by Mr. Ferguson, alias Kennedy.

Proceeding up the American lock the vessel took on board some twenty Americans, and headed for Michipicoton, the passengers making merry with song, dance and liquor.

Repulsed at Batchewana

The first place the vessel touched at was Batchewana. There, Ferguson, or Kennedy, interviewed the deputy returning officer and asked the number of voters on the list. The official reported that the number was 22, and that there were only seven at hand.

Ferguson said it would be worth two suits of clothes or \$50 to the deputy returning officer, if he would allow the entire list to be voted. The officer, however, pointed out that the Conservative scrutineer might interfere with the operation, whereupon the vessel was steered to another port.

Instructions on Route

On the way to the next stopping place the passengers were schooled in the work they had to do. They were informed of the names under which they were to vote, and were given cards specifying their names. They were told in addition that if they should be sworn, there would be no perjury, seeing that the book would be a mass of blank paper, with nothing of the Bible about it except the cover, which would not count.

All but one were voted at Michipicoton Harbor. Then a special train of the Algoma Central Railway conveyed them to the Helen Mines, where they were voted again.

How many times each of the Americans employed on this work voted is not certain, but with twenty men operating 59 votes were cast for Smith at Michipicoton, and 25 at Helen Mines, although there do not appear to have been any other people there.

On the return from the expedition the persons who had taken part were paid off by Peter J. Galvin, an employment agent at the Michigan Sault, who had collected them for the expedition.

Comments by Chancellor Boyd

The judgment of Chancellor Boyd after hearing the evidence was as follows:

"The 'Minnie M.' started at an early hour on Sunday from the other side, and after going a short distance through the locks, first taking on beer, whiskey and cigars—not as freight, but as provisions to be consumed, an unusual thing—took on at Algonquin this cargo of men, twenty or more. These were chiefly rough laborers, and they stayed on board till Tuesday.

They called in at Batchewana, and what occurred there throws light on what occurred afterwards. Mr. DuVernet points out the singular transaction, which I hope may never be repeated, of the returning officer being consulted as to whether these men might go in and vote, an offer being made him of a suit of clothes. It all came to nothing, because the Conservative scrutineer came into the harbor.

The destination was not Batchewana, but Michipicoton. They reached there, and the men went up in a scattered way to vote at Helen Mine, and then came down and voted at Michipicoton. They were kept free of charge all these days, given their transportation on boat and rail, given meat, drink and cigars, beer and whiskey—beer, more than whiskey—during that time. They had a meal during the intervals of voting at Helen Mine and Gravel Beach.

These men had slips of paper given them, each man labelled with a name appearing on the voters' list. Cole says the names were taken from the list, and Filmore says the same. The name which each man had was evidently not his own, and they were directed as to what they were to say. I have no doubt they did vote because there were no others voted at these polls. From what was observed, from what they themselves said, and from what Kennedy said, that all voted but three at the last place, and all but one at the first.

I have no reason to doubt the men voted, and I have no reasonable doubt that these men were not the men named in the voters' list, but false voters. As to three of the voters given as polling it is evident that two were not there, and one was dead. These three were personated that day by men who went there."

Reported for Corruption

The following persons were reported by the judges for corruption:
Wm. Coyne, assistant to the President of the Consolidated Lake Superior Co.; Sack Kennedy, alias Ferguson; Pat J. Galvin; David Hopkins, a C.P.R.

conductor; J. D. Lamonte, Napoleon Audette, Chas. Griswold; Wm. H. Godwin, Mayor of Steelton; W. C. Kilpatrick, Mayor and postmaster of Copper Cliff; John F. Bonathan, who admitted he had received a bribe. They also report that in their behalf corrupt practices extensively prevailed throughout the entire constituency; they direct C. N. Smith to pay all the costs of the petition.

Sutherland, who directed the campaign for the Government, was not reported, although the court held, in the language of the Chancellor, that "It is very plain that Sutherland was the organizer of the trip. The whole campaign was in his hands."

No Prosecutions

The discovery of so much fraud called for prosecutions by the Government, but none have been undertaken. The private parties who discovered the frauds are left to prosecute, the Government declines to act. This is a fit climax to the series of crimes. The Attorney-General was informed that they were being perpetrated, and refused to stop them. Now that they have been committed, and the names are known, the same Government refuses to put the machinery of the law in motion with a view to enforcing punishment.

Galvin's Confession

An interesting sequel to the affair is the confession made by P. J. Galvin, the man who was employed to provide the personators. Galvin was fined \$100 by the election court for failing to appear as a witness. He subsequently sent a statement to the Sault from which the following assertions are gleaned:

Kennedy, known as Ferguson, acting on behalf of Smith, engaged him to collect the men. Kennedy said to him that he wanted a good crowd to go to Michipicoton as pluggers." Galvin collected the men and accompanied them on the expedition. "I received \$400 from Kennedy to pay me for my services, and to pay the men."

"I formerly resided in the town of Peterborough, and am well acquainted with the Hon. J. R. Stratton, whom I worked for in political matters for many years. When the said Kennedy came to me he stated and satisfied me that he came with the said Stratton's authority, as he said the said Stratton had told him that I might be relied upon to do anything that he might want to assist C. N. Smith in his election."

"I wrote Stratton calling upon him and the Liberal party to get me out of the predicament they had got me into and shortly afterwards one R. A. Grant, solicitor, from Toronto, called upon me in response to my said letter from Stratton. We talked the matter over."

"He promised that if I followed his instructions he would see me through, and I would be protected, and all fines imposed would be paid by him on behalf of the Liberal party."

TRICK BALLOT BOXES

CROWNING INIQUITY OF THE MACHINE —A SCIENTIFIC SCHEME OF ROBBERY

Philip A. Lott's story of a plot, in which he says his detective instinct led him to participate, was the basis of what will be known to history as the bogus ballot box investigation at Belleville. Mr. E. Guss Porter, M.P., who in conjunction with Harry Corby, Ex.-M.P., and Sir Mackenzie Bowell, gave the scandal publicity on the eve of Nov. 3rd, election day, was made the subject of a violent attack in the *Daily Ontario*, a Liberal organ, whose editor, Mr. T. S. Carman, charged him with being at the foundation of the plot and referred to him as a "snake in the grass." An action for criminal libel was at once instituted by Mr. Porter. The investigating magistrate was A. F. Wood, Ex.-M.P.P., Madoc, who threw the inquiry wide open, inviting all evidence that might show light on the bogus ballot box frauds.

Participants Under Arrest

While the preliminary hearing was in progress, warrants were issued for the arrest of Byron O. Lott, Liberal candidate in West Hastings; W. J. Shibley, Liberal candidate in Frontenac; F. J. Reilly; T. E. Whalen, Inland Revenue Officer, Prescott; E. G. Ruttan, bailiff, Harrowsmith, and Samuel Haryett, Police Magistrate, at Bancroft. Byron O. Lott was arrested, but was liberated on \$4,000 bail, which, however, he has estreated. W. J. Shibley has so far eluded arrest. The other four received a brief hearing before Police Magistrate Flint, at Belleville, and were committed for trial on a charge of conspiracy, Mr. Haryett being the only one not allowed on bail.

Story of the Plot

F. J. Reilly's evidence in the libel case was a vivid story of the plot. As a friend and confidant of W. J. Shibley he had undertaken to conduct the negotiations for the manufacture of bogus ballot boxes for use in Frontenac and West Hastings. A genuine box was obtained from the Court House at Kingston, and sent to Watertown, N.Y., as a model. Then follows frequent trips by Reilly between Kingston and that town. On two occasions

he was accompanied by Byron O. Lott and W. J. Shibley, respectively, the former suggesting upon seeing the bogus model which had been made, that the receptacle for bogus ballots was not large enough to wipe out the Conservative majority in West Hastings. An enlargement was therefore made.

Twenty Boxes Made

The announcement of the Dominion elections having come earlier than was anticipated the Watertown manufacturers received a rush order. Finally twenty were completed, and for these Reilly paid \$200, which he had received from "a mysterious stranger" in the dark at the Kingston & Pembroke Rail-

way Junction. "The goods" having been delivered the boxes were shipped to one Cavanagh, at Ogdensburg. This was a fictitious name, however, for T. E. Whalen, who had undertaken to get the boxes safely across the river to Prescott. In the silent watches of the night the boxes were taken across to the Canadian side and stored in Whalen's barn. Here the three cases, containing ten, six and four boxes, respectively, were addressed as follows: "W. H. Carefoot, Kingston;" "Philip A. Lott, Central Ontario Junction," and "John Bremner, Bancroft."

Carefully Distributed

The evidence shows that the "Carefoot" box was delivered to W. J. Shibley at Harrowsmith. Philip A. Lott handed his over to the court as proof of his story, and John Bremner swore that he delivered his case, "contents unknown," to Police Magistrate Haryett. With regard to the use of the boxes on election day, the evidence was clear in the case of one box only, which is alleged to have been used at Ardoch, Frontenac, where Hawkeys, a professional wrestler, of Chicago was the deputy returning officer. The Frontenac returning officer swore that the box Hawkeye returned was a tin box, not the galvanized box he received, nor evidently one of the bogus boxes.

Drowning the Boxes

The plot having been revealed, the participants at once set about to cover their tracks. According to the evidence, W. J. Shibley called in E. G. Ruttan and David Harpel, an insurance agent, who took nine bogus boxes and in the stillness of the night of November 4th drowned them in the Lake at Sydenham. Harpel swore that he believed the missing box was used by Hawkeye. The story of the drowning was confirmed by the finding of the boxes by Detective Parkinson, who "fished" them from the lake.

The fate of the four boxes that went to Bancroft is not known, though as a result of the evidence of George Sproule, Carl Taylor, George Hamilton and a mail driver named Martin, there is a strong suspicion that these boxes were used in the back parts of the ridings and drowned in Lake Peter, near Maynooth. Hawkeye's box is believed to have been drowned near Clarendon Station.

Perjury Proposed

F. J. Reilly himself was the next evidence to be removed. Accordingly at a conference in Harrowsmith he was urged to leave the country, the inducement offered being \$500 from Byron O. Lott, and \$25 per week from Shibley. It was then that Reilly says his moral fibre tightened and he refused to become an exile. Subsequently Byron Lott had asked him to violate his oath. Again Reilly refused to obey, and Byron Lott left.

John Bremner was the next point of attack. He swore that at a meeting in Toronto, while the Liberal Convention was being held, Byron O. Lott, Police Magistrate Haryett, George Weese and J. J. Kelly, a clerk in the Crown Lands Department, being present, he was urged to perjure himself in the witness box, the suggestion also being made that he might kiss his thumb instead of the Bible while taking the oath. To all these pleadings he says he turned a deaf ear. Soon after that meeting Lott appears to have left the country.

All Machine Workers

All the parties connected with this colossal fraud were machine workers for the Ross Government. Shibley had run for the Legislature in Frontenac, and was the party leader in that district.

Byron O. Lott ran for the Legislature in North Hastings three times. On each occasion Mr. G. W. Ross sought his election, and spoke for him. In one of his speeches Mr. Ross described Lott as a man who would shed lustre on the party of Baldwin, Blake and Mowat.

The campaign in which Lott and Shibley operated was a Federal election, but it was conducted by the Ross Government, James Vance being in charge, and George P. Graham, who has since been taken into the Ross Cabinet, being the organizer in the district, for which the bogus boxes were bought.

The Infernal Machine

The belief is current that the discovery of these instruments for swindling the people out of their votes touches only a fringe of the system of fraud which prevails. Since the boxes have been exhumed it has been found that very extraordinary results have been recorded in other elections under the Ross Government and its agents. An Ogdensburg tinsmith declares that the business of making such boxes for use in Ontario has been regularly carried on along the border.

The mechanism of the cheating machine is thus described. Along the front of the box there is a lining, which is divided into two compartments, each with a door operated through the handle by which the box is carried. The lower compartment is filled with bogus ballots. The upper compartment is connected with a slot through which the genuine ballots are deposited. A touch of the handle opens the lower compartment and lets the bogus ballots out into the box. A similar touch operates the interior machinery so that the genuine ballots may pass into the secret compartment instead of into the box proper.

Half a dozen of these boxes would turn any election.

The Purchase of Legislators

How the Ross Government Sought to Buy Members of the House and was Trapped by Mr. Gamey

The most sensational event of recent times was the attempt of the Ross Government to buy Mr. R. R. Gamey, who was elected to oppose that ministry, and the dramatic exposure of the scandal in the Legis' assembly.

How the Case Arose

To understand this remarkable case it is necessary to consider the circumstances leading to it. At the session of the House preceding the general election the Government introduced and pushed through a gerrymander act, designed to help in the contest. The count of heads on the night of polling day was disappointing to the ministers. The result was this:

Ministerial members	51
Opposition members	47
Majority for Government	4

A few days after the contest Mr. Munro, the member for North Renfrew died. This brought the majority to three. Then there was a recount in Lennox, as a consequence of which Mr. Carscallen, the Opposition member was found to have been elected. This made the majority one. A speaker had to be named. This would have left the Government without support.

In this situation ministers looked round for some means of improving their fortunes.

Bribes to Members

Three members were approached, and schemes were devised for making advances to others.

One member thus treated was Dr. Reaume the member for North Essex. He was offered the speakership. Dr. Reaume declined the proposition.

Another member approached was Donald Sutherland, the member for South Oxford. A petition was lodged against the return of this gentlemen. It was represented to Mr. Sutherland that if he would turn over the petition would be withdrawn, and he would make "a good thing financially" for himself. The Government was willing to pay money for support. Mr. Sutherland refused to be coerced or bought. The petition against his election was therefore pushed, and perjurers were paid to swear him out of his seat. It cost many thousands of dollars to defeat this swindle.

Mr. Gamey, the member for Manitoulin, was meanwhile being approached. It was suggested that if he would accept a bribe, he could make money by helping to operate against two other members—Mr. Miscampbell, at the Sault, and Mr. Smyth, of Algoma.

The Government had five members in view, either to buy over or to unseat, and then to supplant by machine men. The change of five would have given a majority of 10 to the defeated ministry.

Mr. Gamey's Dilemma

When Mr. Gamey was approached he found himself in a dilemma. He was a poor man. He was threatened with expensive litigation. If he went on with the litigation he would be ruined financially, whether he won or lost. The chances were that he would lose, not because he had been corruptly elected, but because the Government was able and willing, as in the South Oxford case, to purchase false evidence against him. He decided to meet the Government at its own game. He pretended to be bought, and then exposed the plot in the Legislature.

The exposure produced a great sensation. To a Royal Commission the case was referred, and after a good deal of hard swearing the Government managed to elicit a whitewashing report.

Chronological Story of the Case

The facts in this case can be best stated by giving them in their chronological sequence:

May 29—General election; Mr. Gamey returned for Manitoulin; majority 340. Mr. Gamey a pledged supporter of the Conservative party.

June 10—Position of parties calculated to be: Ministerialists, 47; Conservatives, 46. Government majority, 1.

July 14—Mr. Gamey's election protested by Government.

The Sullivans at Work

August 7—"Cap." Sullivan, agent of the Government, meets Mr. Gamey at Allandale, tells him the Government will unseat him and disqualify him.

Evening of same day—Frank Sullivan, Government official, meets Mr. Gamey at Walker House. Repeats the statement that the Government will have him disqualified, says evidence to disqualify him can be bought but trouble could be avoided, and \$5,000 could be made by Mr. Gamey by turning over to the Government side.

August 12—Mr. Grant, Government lawyer in charge of election petition, invited to Walker House by Frank Sullivan to see Mr. Gamey about a deal in which Mr. Gamey could make \$5,000.

August 12—Mr. Jones, of Beeton, Government worker, meets Mr. Gamey, invites him to turn over; also says he would like to get information that would unseat Mr. Smyth, of Algoma, and Mr. Miscampbell, of the Sault.

August 19—Mr. Gamey received letter from Jones. Jones says he has seen the "acting manager," meaning Mr. Stratton, who agrees to carry out the deal he has mentioned, and will treat Mr. Gamey better than he expected. Money can be made. "We can make a good haul at once." "It is a snap worth trying," says Jones.

August 21—"Cap." Sullivan appears at Mr. Gamey's house at Gore Bay at midnight, arouses the member, wants to speak to him privately. Talks with Mr. Gamey in the stable; says: "they were anxious to go on with some arrangement"; wants a document asserting that Mr. Gamey would support the Government to show the Government.

Introduced to Mr. Stratton

August 26—The "Cap." and Frank meet Mr. Gamey at the Walker House. Frank drew up an agreement that Mr. Gamey should receive \$3,000 down and \$2,000 after the session for supporting the Government.

September 9—Frank takes Mr. Gamey to Mr. Stratton's office, where matters were discussed with the Minister. Mr. Gamey is told to see Mr. Aylesworth, the counsel for the Government in the election petition proceedings.

Same day—Mr. Stratton sees Mr. Aylesworth, K.C., says Mr. Gamey is all right, and that the election petition is to be withdrawn. Arrangement made that Mr. Gamey shall sign a letter to Mr. Ross, agreeing to support the Government. Mr. Stratton prepares letter and carries it to Mr. Aylesworth.

September 10—Frank Sullivan takes Mr. Gamey to Mr. Aylesworth's office; withdrawal of petition discussed; Mr. Aylesworth produces letter or contract to sign; Mr. Gamey signs, but says there is a money transaction to be completed, and declines to give up the letter until that is settled.

September 11—The proceedings of this day are disputed. Mr. Gamey says he received money from Mr. Stratton in exchange for the letter which Mr. Stratton prepared for him to sign in Mr. Aylesworth's office, and proves that he deposited \$1,500 of the \$3,000 received in the Traders' Bank. Mr. Stratton swears that he gave Mr. Gamey nothing, and presents an alibi. The letter to Mr. Ross signed in Mr. Aylesworth's office goes on file in the office of Mr. Ross.

Patronage and New Deals

September 16—Frank Sullivan writes Mr. Gamey: "I had a talk with our man this morning, and he wants me to try and put through another deal. He will pay all expenses in connection with same, and will make it worth your while if it goes through." Sullivan asks Mr. Gamey to run over and see "that party," meaning Mr. Smyth, the member for Algoma.

September 19—Jones, of Beeton, also writes Mr. Gamey to see "that party," and get a verbal option and make a haul.

September 20—Mr. Gamey writes Mr. Stratton recommending that Mr. Flesher be appointed a J.P.

October 2—Mr. Stratton writes Mr. Gamey asking who shall be appointed returning officer for the referendum.

October 7—Mr. Gamey replies to Mr. Stratton, and recommends the sheriff, who was appointed.

Sullivan and Mr. Stratton

October 23—Mr. Gamey in Mr. Stratton's office. Mr. Stratton wants the letter to Mr. Ross duplicated and signed as of a late date in October.

October 25—Election petition withdrawn.

October 27—Letter to Mr. Ross signed and forwarded. The new date makes it appear as if it were sent after the abandonment of the election petition, and not as part of the price of that action.

January 13—Mr. Gamey called to Mr. Stratton's office. Mr. Stratton reproaches him for having spoken in North Perth for the Conservative candidate. Mr. Gamey responds that the terms of his contract did not bind him until the Legislature had met.

January 27—Frank Sullivan telegraphs Mr. Gamey to come to Toronto at once. "Important."

January 29—Mr. Gamey at Toronto. Frank Sullivan arranges a meeting with the Provincial Secretary. Mr. Gamey faced with interview for publication saying that he had turned over. The sum of \$1,000 stated to have been paid for the interview.

January 30—Interview published in *Globe*. Mr. Gamey is there made to say that he has become a supporter of the Government. The *Globe* welcomes Mr. Gamey to the party and says "he is a man of force."

February 7—Mr. Latchford writes Mr. Gamey for particulars of the road grants needed for Mantoulin.

February 7—Mr. Gamey writes Mr. Stratton that he had to meet his executive and enquiring what he had better do.

February 11—Frank Sullivan replies in an anonymous letter signed "X. Y. Z.," and encloses a statement for Mr. Gamey to make to the effect that he had taken his course "after consulting friends in the riding," and that he did not intend to be dictated to by a few straight-laced Tories.

February 20—Letter from Frank Sullivan saying that he had called upon Mr. Stratton, and that that Minister wanted him to nominate the license inspector and the license commissioners at once.

February 27—Frank Sullivan writes that he sees Mr. Stratton every day, and that he will see him again this p.m. re appointments.

The Explosion:

March 10—Frank Sullivan confirms Mr. Gamey's statement as to the bribery in the piano factory in the presence of three concealed witnesses.

March 11—The explosion in the House. Bribery charged and investigation demanded.

March 12—Mr. Hammond, one of the witnesses, asked by Mr. Stratton to "forget some of the things." Members of the Sullivan family leave for the United States.

Before the Royal Commission—Mr. Stratton says he was the innocent recipient of support which Mr. Gamey thrust upon him. Frank Sullivan represents that Mr. Gamey wanted to turn over, and that Mr. Stratton simply accepted the conversion.

June 26—Ministers vote themselves innocent. Frank Sullivan becomes a shareholder in a new company—(Estates Limited)—to the amount of \$8,000.

December, 1904—Mr. Stratton forced out of the Government.

What the Facts are

The facts seems to be that Mr. Stratton acting for Mr. Ross, had Mr. Gamey approached through the Sullivan's and Jones, of Beeton. Offers were made to Mr. Gamey. He went into the scheme to save his seat and to avoid expense.

When the bargain was completed Mr. Gamey had to sign the letter to be given to Mr. Ross to hold. Mr. Gamey did sign, and Ross held the contract until he was compelled to produce it before the courts.

Mr. Stratton acted as the agent for Ross in the carrying out of this nefarious deal and was sacrificed in order to save the guilty man..

The Great Sault Scandal

**\$2,000,000 OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY
PLEDGED FOR A PRIVATE
COMPANY**

**"RAKE-OFFS" FOR TWO MACHINE
MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE**

CURIOUS CONTRACT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT

The failure of the Sault Works produced a great scandal, and a great expense. The history of the Sault enterprises must be considered in connection with this affair.

Government Neglect

For years and years the Government neglected New Ontario. Mr. Ross had no faith in the country. Speaking in Parliament in 1881 in opposition to the opening up of the western part of the Province through the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Mr. Ross said (Hansard, 1881, page 322):

"You will notice that by the terms of this contract we are going to build the eastern end, 690 miles, inside of ten years. We are certainly not building the Lake Superior end of the road, what is called the eastern section, for the purpose of colonization. We have no evidence that that land is of great value; we know the climate is unfavorable; we know the soil is somewhat barren. True, there may be some valuable timber in the country, but we do not require to build a railroad into it for the sake of timber. We have an abundance of timber on existing lines of railway, so that the immediate construction of the eastern end of this route is unnecessary."

Holding that the country was barren and the climate bad, the Government neglected it. All the development that has taken place has been undertaken in spite of Government neglect and opposition.

Mr. Clergue Appears

In 1887 the town of Sault Ste. Marie was incorporated. That town, with a population of 3,000 undertook to develop the water power, at a cost of \$250,000.

The work—a power canal—was scarcely completed when Messrs. F. H. Clergue, of New York, and E. V. Douglas, of Philadelphia, bought it at the estimated cost the town paid. This was in 1894. These gentlemen proceeded to enlarge the canal and to add to the horsepower. They also built a large pulp mill and established allied industries.

Not until 1900 was the Ontario Government aware that the Clergue works were in progress. Then it became familiar with the fact because application was made for a railway subsidy.

The Huge Subsidy

The company desired to build a railway from the Sault north and west, to reach the pulp timber, and to get the ore from the Helen Mine, both raw products being needed in the industries. A moderate subsidy, if the public domain would thereby be developed, was sought, and was not opposed by anybody.

But it turned out that a very extensive grant was offered by the Government. The Government proposed to give away no less than 1,500,000 acres of choice lands to the builders of the line, or 7,400 acres for every mile of line constructed. Against this unexampled grant the Opposition in the Legislature protested. This was an addition to the \$3,200 a mile granted at Ottawa.

The lands, with their minerals, and their lumber, were more than enough to pay for the railway. As a matter of fact, we were giving the railway, and an extensive bonus in addition, to the company.

Two of the most active campaigners for the extraordinary subsidy were Mr. James Connice, a leading M.P.P., and supporter of the Government, and Mr. Bowman, the Liberal whip in the Legislature. These members will be heard from again later on.

The Failure and Its Cause

Everything went along very well with the company so far as could be seen until September, 1903, when it failed, and the entire business came to a standstill.

Why did the works fail? This is a point for which an explanation is found in the columns of the *Toronto Globe*. On December 20, 1902, the *Globe* published a communication from the Sault stating that the company had made a large investment in a steel rail plant, and that it would have to shut down if protection—an import duty—on steel rails were not given by the Ottawa Government.

"Mr. Clergue," said the writer, "faces the future with every confidence—if he can secure a duty on steel rails. If not, he says, he will fill his orders and then move his plant across the river, where he will have the larger market, surrounded by a duty of \$7 a ton on rails." Mr. Clergue added that the competition with Germany, owing to the low wages there was deadly, and proceeded to say:

"It seems to me evident that neither these wages, nor this employment can continue if the product of all these laborers is compelled to meet in competition the product of low priced German labor, which in itself is delivered here at a loss."

Nothing was Done

Thus, nine months before the catastrophe, the Government at Ottawa had warning that unless protection were given the industry would come to a stop.

Nothing was done. The Ottawa Government did not act, and the Ross Government displayed no concern about the matter. No appeal was made by the Ross Government to the Ottawa Government to give the necessary protection, and thus to save the works.

The consequence was that in September, 1903, the works closed down.

\$400,000 for Conmee and Bowman

The plant was mortgaged to an important financial firm, Speyer & Co., and this company, owing to the failure, was bound, in its own interests, and with a view to recovering its money, to reorganize the works, and to set them going again. But the firm was met with legal action. Mr. James Conmee, M.P.P., and Mr. Bowman, M.P.P., entered suit with a view to protecting a claim for money which they had against the Sault Company.

Mr. Conmee, M.P.P., made this statement in an affidavit:

"If the said mortgage is valid and in priority of the claims of the plaintiffs and other creditors of the said defendant company, as claimed by the defendant trust company and the defendant Speyer company, there are no assets of the defendant railway company out of which the plaintiffs (Conmee and Bowman) and other creditors of the railway company can realize any part of their claim."

The position was then this: Two members of the Legislature had claims against the company which had failed. The mortgagees were ready to take over the works, to reorganize them, and to set them going. The two politicians—Messrs. Conmee and Bowman—were interested in preventing the mortgagees from doing this, because, as they swore, if the mortgage took effect these politicians would lose the amount of their claims against the insolvent company.

It was in the interests of the two members of the Legislature to prevent any arrangement being arrived at except one that would pay their claims.

The Conmee and Bowman Scandal

Now, at this point it is important to enquire how Messrs. Conmee and Bowman, two members of the Legislature, came to have a claim against a company which as M.P.P.s they had voted to subsidize. No member of the Legislature is supposed to have business relations with any corporation receiving grants.

But here were two members—both leading supporters of the Ross Government, and one the whip—with an enormous claim against this particular company.

It appears that after voting the subsidies to the Algoma Central Railway, Messrs. Conmee and Bowman—the one a powerful supporter of the Government and the other the Government whip—became contractors to build the road, or a part of it. The contracts were sub-let to the firm of Foley Brothers, who did the work, while Conmee and Bowman, the two members of the Legislature, roped in a profit for doing nothing.

A Ten Per Cent. "Rake-Off"

The following is the contract entered into between Messrs. Conmee and Bowman, M.P.P., and Foley Brothers, the contractors:

"The parties of the second part, Foley Brothers, hereby covenant and agree jointly and severally to pay to the parties of the first part, Conmee and Bowman, without any deductions, the full sum of ten per cent. upon the gross cost of all the work, of whatsoever kind or nature hereafter undertaken or acquired from, or allotted by the Algoma Central Railway Company, or F. H. Clergue, or any companies with which the said Algoma Central Railway Company, or Clergue, may be allied, or connected, or interested in, or any of them jointly, to the said parties of the second part, Foley Brothers, or to any other parties on their behalf, or for their benefit, or in other ways, directly or indirectly, whether such work is acquired by or through the influence of the parties of the first part—Conmee and Bowman—or either of them or not.

The said ten per cent. shall be paid as follows: Three per cent. as the work progresses, or as the monies are paid to the parties of the second part

ONTARIO PAYS A RAKE-OFF.

under their estimates, and the balance, seven per cent., upon the final completion of the work."

It was in July, 1900, just after the railway bonus had been granted, that this agreement was made. What does the bargain mean? It says:

1. Foley Brothers are to do the work on the railway.
2. They are to pay ten per cent. upon the gross cost of the work to the two members of the Legislature, Conmee and Bowman.
3. This money is to be paid by Foley Brothers to Conmee and Bowman upon all work the firm does at the Sault, and whether the work is got through the influence of Conmee and Bowman, members of the Legislature, or not.

It is estimated that the Foleys did \$2,000,000 worth of work, and that as a result Conmee and Bowman got \$200,000 for doing nothing.

\$2,000,000 to Help Conmee and Bowman

When the Sault collapse occurred, owing to the failure of the Ottawa Government to give protection to steel rails, \$400,800 was due to the Foleys, and of this amount the two members of the Legislature were entitled, under their agreement, to \$40,000.

If the Speyers Company, the people who held the mortgage, had foreclosed, Conmee and Bowman would have got nothing, or would have ranked with the creditors, but the works would have been re-organized, and would have gone on all the same.

On the other hand, if some other deal could be made, whereby the Speyers' mortgage would be taken up, Conmee and Bowman might get their money. The two members engineered with a view to getting another deal, and accomplished that operation through their influence with the Ross Government.

This is what the \$2,000,000 loan by Ontario means.

Ontario Foots the Bill

The Province lends the company \$2,000,000, not to start the works going, for the creditors would have seen to it that they were placed in operation; nor to keep them going, for with a duty on steel rails they would go without artificial aid; but to assure Conmee and Bowman, two influential members of the Legislature—men upon whose vote the life of the Government depended—their "rake-off," which without the loan these politicians would have lost. The loan was, and is, a loan made in the interests of these two politicians. Whether it will be repaid is problematical, but as it stands it is a contribution of \$1 per head that Conmee and Bowman may get a "rake-off" for which they have done nothing in the way of work.

This Case is Corrupt

The facts in this case all point to corruption.

First, we see members of the Legislature voting subsidies, and then becoming contractors for the recipients of these bonuses.

Second, we have these men receiving ten per cent. upon contracts given out by the subsidized company.

Third, we see these men operating in the constituencies. Mr. Conmee helped to finance the election of C. N. Smith, of "Minnie M." notoriety, at the Sault, while it is shown that Mr. Bowman put up money for McKay, the organizer who has become a minister in North Grey. Again, these men are in evil deals on a financial basis. Mr. Conmee figured in the attempt to buy M. Gamey. He put up the money with which to protest Mr. Gamey's election.

Fourth, we have these men powerful in the Legislature, and able to force the Government to lend the credit of the Province, not for public purposes, but in order that the "rake-off" may be collected.

A STORY OF MALADMINISTRATION

CROOKED WORK IN MANY DEPARTMENTS AND MUCH PUBLIC MONEY LOST

SHADY DEALS IN CROWN TIMBER

HOW CAPTAIN SULLIVAN GOT A LARGE "RAKE-OFF"

While Premier of Canada Alexander Mackenzie wrote his famous letter in which he said that "if a weak or a dishonest man were in charge of the Public Works disastrous results would ensue to the country, as, with its huge expenditure, the Public Works Department was the great jobbing department."

In Ontario the great jobbing department is the Department of Crown Lands, because it controls the valuable provincial assets. What would Alexander Mackenzie say of the Crown Lands Department, as managed in recent years?

It has not been in strong hands, or the minister would not have been dropped; and it has not passed to strong hands. Mr. McKay is one of the party organizers, and not a man of business capacity and experience fit to handle a great estate and a large revenue.

Good Proposals Rejected

In 1891, under Sir William Meredith's lead, the Conservative party in the Legislature laid down the proposition that there should be a thorough stock-taking of the forest resources, and no sale of timber limits without Legislative authority. This was a business proposition, but it was rejected.

What has been the policy since? The Government has had rush sales of enormous areas of timber at uncertain and fitful periods, thus precluding those who had not been warned in advance from bidding, and enabling friends of the Government who had received ample intimation of the intention to sell, to make an exploration and to buy. This has prevented healthy competition, and has deprived the Province of the highest possible price.

Indeed, it has been suspected that favorites have had the advantage of the confidential reports of the Government as to the value of limits, and in the light of some of the deals that have been made known this is not impossible.

Opposed to Reform

Again, the Government has opposed the reasonable policy of the Opposition that timber be sold in smaller berths, that the man with moderate means

might be able to bid. It has also obstructed all efforts to obtain better terms for the settler, in the matter of timber, and little if any attention has been paid to the Opposition proposal for re-foresting the timber limits. Ontario is fast being stripped of timber, and to this fact may be attributed in some measure the importation of lumber from the Southern States, the product of cheap labor.

Forced to Take Action

While the Government has resisted so many good propositions, it has been forced by the Opposition to act on one matter, the sending of our saw logs to Michigan to be manufactured. For ten years the Conservative party advocated the stoppage of the exportation of logs to the American mills, and contended that our own labor ought to have the advantage of manufacturing our own raw materials into the finished article.

After this long period of agitation the Government capitulated, with the result that our own towns are now doing a business which under the Government policy went to the United States. The Government never liked the change, and the question now is whether the Conservative policy will be adhered to, or whether it will be reversed, if the Ross Government gets another term.

The Charlton Influence Paramount

This question becomes important because Mr. W. A. Charlton, brother and business partner of Mr. John Charlton, has been taken into the Cabinet. The Charltons have been persistent opponents of the Canadian policy in lumber, and have advocated the exportation of the logs to be manufactured at United States mills instead of at our own mills and by our own people.

Mr. John Charlton went so far in 1904 as to advise the Americans what to do in order to force us to allow logs to be exported, instead of lumber. He wrote, as proven during the session of Parliament in 1894, as follows:

"I wish to make a brief communication with reference to the Wilson bill regarding Canadian log export duties. The saw mills at Saginaw, Bay City, Tawas, Alpena, etc., are largely dependent upon the Canadian forests north of Georgian Bay for their log supply."

Then he advises the Americans what to do in order to prevent us from cutting off the supply, and adds:

"Should this provision be inserted it will inevitably prevent the imposition of an export duty by the Canadian Government. It is that provision, which the entire lumber trade in Michigan, Ohio, and New York, dependent, more or less, upon Canadian logs, is anxious to have inserted in the bill."

The lumber industry is the life of many of our towns on Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay, and the question is whether the people desire the Charltons, who have now become powerful in the Ross Government, to enforce their well-known ideas, as they are able to do, if the Ross Government lives.

Eighty-Two Timber Sales Secretly Made

The policy of the Government is, however, not the only question. The administration has to be considered. At the last session of the House a return was brought down showing that 82 limits have been sold secretly and without competition. The details of all these sales are not furnished. But an example is given in the "Cap." Sullivan case.

"Cap." Sullivan's Haul

This revelation came out through the bribery scandal. The facts are these:

Captain Sullivan is an election operator for the Government, and is allowed to make a good thing out of it. Mr. A. R. Grant, the lawyer who does the political work for the Government, testified, in the Stratton scandal case, that in 1901 Sullivan told him there were two lots in Rutherford township which he thought could be bought. Grant, who is a member of the firm of Kerr & Co. (Mr. J. K. Kerr, the head of the firm is president of the Liberal Association) applied for the limit on behalf of a person named Shannon, offering \$350 for it. The Government granted the limit for the price named.

Shannon swears he did not know the limit was being applied for. The first he heard of it, he says, was when Grant sent him papers to sign transferring the license to the Traders' Bank, to be held for the Charlton Brothers. Nor did Shannon find the money. This man was a perfectly innocent party.

It appears from the evidence that Shannon's name was used, and that Sullivan, the election worker, was the real purchaser from the Government, a Government official, Taylor by name, being a partner with him. While the purchase was going through the Department, Sullivan arranged the sale of the property to Charlton Brothers for \$9,000.

Robbery of the Public Estate

Thus the property of the people is sold to a celebrated election worker, who immediately turns it over to a lumber firm at a profit of \$8,750. This sum is divided between Sullivan and Taylor, an officer of the Crown Lands Department, who seems to have the inside track in that bureau.

The size of the limit thus disposed of was one and one-quarter square miles. The average price for such limits at auction is \$2,000 per square mile. The Government knew this and yet gave the limit to Sullivan for \$250.

This is a sample case. Many other deals of a similar character have gone through, for Taylor in his evidence says: "IT IS AN ORDINARY THING TO LET A LIMIT GO BY PRIVATE SALE AND NOT BY AUCTION."

The curtain ought to be lifted, a change ought to be made, that we may know how far this thing has gone, and that we may make arrangements so that the provincial treasury may get what belongs to it, and that parasites may not fatten at the public expense.

The Famous Capreol Case

Another case illustrating the operations in the Crown Lands Department is that known as the Capreol case, in which "Cap." Sullivan, the election worker, again figures.

Chew Brothers, of Midland, had bought for \$8,500, from the Ontario Lumber Company, the right to cut timber on certain islands on the Georgian Bay. It was alleged to be the desire of the Government to preserve the islands, and for this reason to withdraw all but two of them from the lumber men. The proposition was made that Chew Bros., who had already cut on the island, should give up the islands and receive in return from the Government a timber limit of equal value in the township of Capreol. It was estimated that there were on the islands 5,143,000 feet of pine and 400,000 feet of other woods, and the Chews were to get the same quantity of timber in Capreol.

A limit in Capreol was allotted to the Chews, but before they could get possession of it "Cap." Sullivan appeared on the scene, and engineered the sale of the limit by the Chews to Mr. Munro, M.P.P., for \$28,000. The Chews had given up a property which had cost them \$8,500, and from which they had already cut a good deal, for another property, which "Cap." Sullivan at once undertook to sell for \$28,000. Here was a fine big profit. "Cap." Sullivan got \$4,000 for this transaction from Mr. Munro, M.P.P.

Another Profitable Turn-Over

Mr. Munro, M.P.P., who made the purchase, at once re-sold, or had already re-sold, it for \$55,000 to Messrs. Bryson, Barnett & Francis. This gave Mr. Munro, M.P.P., a profit of \$27,000. The purchasers afterwards sold for \$66,000, to Messrs. Holland & Graves, of Buffalo.

Here is a case in which a \$66,000 property passes from the Department, the public getting nothing for it but the \$8,500 limit of the Chew Brothers. Everybody had a slice of the profit, and "Cap." Sullivan had his share. A clerk in the Woods and Forests branch of the Department also roped in \$1,900. This clerk, Taylor, testified before the Public Accounts Committee that "it is an ordinary thing sometimes to let a limit go by private sale, and not by public auction."

Another Queer Deal

Another strange transaction is that of Cane Brothers, of Newmarket, constituents of Mr. Davis, until recently Commissioner of Crown Lands, and campaigners for that politician. It appears from the evidence before the Public Accounts Committee in 1903 that Cane Brothers bought from the Georgian Bay Lumber Company, the township of Baxter for lumbering purposes, and with it some islands on Georgian Bay. The limits had been pretty well cut over, and all that could be taken from them was small timber.

Later on the Ottawa Government claimed that the islands were Indian land, and stopped the cutting. Then an appeal was taken to the Crown Lands Department and an enquiry was instituted to find the extent of the "disappointment" experienced by the Canes. To three officials, Aubrey White, D. F. Macdonald, the West Elgin operator, and John Regan, of Orillia, was assigned the duty of estimating the amount of loss the Canes had suffered. Aubrey White decided that the Canes were entitled to \$2,000 or \$3,000 for their disappointment, and compensation to that amount was ordered. The Ontario Government did not pay the Canes in cash, but allowed them to cut off other islands to the amount they had lost. The cut that was made, according to Aubrey White, was worth \$8,000. But others hold that the value was \$12,000. Anyway these election workers for Mr. Davis got either \$8,000 or \$12,000 worth of timber in settlement of a claim of from \$2,000 to \$3,000.

In the House of Commons on May 11, 1903, the Government stated that it had discontinued its efforts to assert ownership of the islands, for the loss of which the Canes were compensated. The consequence is that the Canes have the islands that were in dispute and the limits which Mr. Davis gave them. This is a characteristic deal of the Crown Lands Department.

Deals In Pulp Lands

While these transactions have been going on in the Department, there have also been wholesale distributions of pulp lands without competition. No less than 15,660 square miles of spruce land have been distributed by private bargain. One of the largest grants is made to Mr. N. W. Rowell, a director of the *Globe* newspaper and a political stumper. This politician and his colleagues have a limit covering 2,500 square miles of territory.

In Quebec all pulp concessions are put up at auction, and are sold to the person who offers the highest bonus. Then, the purchaser has to pay a rental of \$3 per square mile per annum, and forty cents per cord of pulp wood cut.

In Ontario the pulp areas are distributed by private arrangement. There is no bonus, nor is there a rental of \$3 per square mile. The only dues payable into the treasury are the forty cents a cord for pulp wood cut.

Quebec sold 1,933 miles of pulp area, and received \$129,177 as a bonus, with \$122,171 as the rental for 21 years.

Ontario disposed of 15,660 square miles and received nothing in the way

of bonus or rental. If the Quebec policy had been followed, the income to the Province from this area would have been \$2,020,140.

While the Province has made nothing out of the sale of limits, the same cannot be said of some of the concessionaires. One company, which received a concession for nothing, sold it for \$600,000, and the same concession changed hands a second time at a profit of \$200,000.

Corruption With the Minerals

While there have been improper transactions in timber, the same may be said of the mining management. A notable case was brought to light toward the end of 1902 by Hon. S. H. Blake, a well-known Liberal.

An explorer discovered an iron ore deposit near the Helen mine. He took all the legal action necessary to its acquisition. The Sault Company, however, saw the property and wanted it. A dispute over the ownership was raised, and the case went to the Government. By Mr. Gibson, then Commissioner of Crown Lands, judgment was given for the prospector. The man who found the mineral was adjudged to be the owner of the property.

The case was appealed to the Ross Government in Council. The ministers then, under suspicious circumstances, saw new light, and declared that as a matter of public policy the discovery of the explorer should go to the Sault Company. The explorer lost his iron mine. Hon. S. H. Blake was the counsel for the prospector who was robbed, and felt so warmly upon the injustice done to the unfortunate man that he publicly condemned the Government.

A Sink of Iniquity

The experience of Hon. S. H. Blake does not stand alone. Mr. John A. Montague, a well-known mining engineer, delivered a speech at the Sault on September 21, 1903, on the mining policy of the Government. He said in opening his speech:

I feel sure I can expose the greatest sink of iniquity and corruption that any Government has ever been accused of operating."

He showed that the operation of the mining region was given to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who could do as he pleased, and was free to be corrupt. An illustration of the corrupt provisions of the law was given by Mr. Montague in this way. Section 13 of the Mining Act fixes heavy license fees to be paid on the output of mines. Section 19 states that the Government may at its discretion lay on these fees. Now, the fees are exorbitant. Those for nickel could not be paid. Says Mr. Montague:

"The result of this is that our grafter Government can go to any nickel or any nickel copper mining institution in Ontario and demand bribes under the threat of bringing into force Section 13, and putting the nickel mines out of business."

Everything for Grafters

The entire policy of the Ontario mining law, says Mr. Montague, is to promote grafting. That this is the case is proven by the way the law works out. A poor man finds a claim and the property goes to some rich applicant. A private citizen tries to get a claim. He has to divide with a politician. An illustration of the exercise of political influence is given in the case of the Payton claim. Payton found minerals and claimed the property. The Government could not be persuaded to grant the lease. Mr. Davis said in Toronto that the Government was willing enough, but it could not afford to offend Mr. W. A. Charlton, the Speaker, who opposed the issue of the lease. About two months after this it transpired that the lease would be issued if the lessee would give Mr. Charlton a quarter interest.

This gentleman concludes his criticism of the grating system with this statement:

"The grand old principles of Liberalism are just as good as ever they were, and just as well worthy of honest men as ever they were, but I claim that the Ross Government is neither Liberal nor Conservative. It is just an aggregation of politicians unworthy the support of honest men."

"Lash It Away"

A resident of New Ontario declares that the miner is handicapped and oppressed, and that the settler is discouraged. Then he adds:

"Northern Ontario is a country of boundless mineral resources, which, if developed, would make the whole of Ontario envied of the world."

"Give the energetic men of this northern country a clean Administration and an equitable mining act, and they will do for Southern Ontario what similar men did for British Columbia."

"I have traveled extensively through the districts of Algoma and Nipissing, and have heard but one cry, 'Give us anything for a change, but take away the Ross Government. Lash it away.'"

Colonization Discouraged

In line with the policy with respect to timber and minerals is the policy regarding colonization. It is difficult for the actual settler to get lands although free grants are advertised. Apparently favorites have got in in advance of the settler to gobble up the lands and to hold them at a high figure.

"A British Emigrant" writes to the *Toronto Globe* on Dec. 15, 1902, giving a statement of the condition of affairs in the Temiskaming district. Land he could not secure free, but he could get it from speculators at a high price. "Some of these men," says the writer, "regard every British emigrant as an orange to be sucked." Friends of the Ministers have made a big haul of lands, and the actual settler has to pay these go-betweens for the privilege of settling in the country.

Grafting in all Directions

**\$2,000.00 and a Regular Subscription
Asked for a License**

HUGE PROFITS GATHERED IN THE SCHOOL BOOK MONOPOLY

All through the administration of the Ross Government grafting prevails. The system is in the timber business, the mining business and the colonization business.

It is especially prevalent in the licensing business. A Liberal named Patrick J. Kearns built an hotel at the Sault, and wanted a license. A license he could not get in the regular way. He saw a minister of the Crown, and this is what he swears the Minister promised:

"He said that considering the fact that I had come from his riding, and being a friend and supporter of his he would interest himself in a quiet way to secure for myself and brother a tavern license. He at the same time told us that it was customary for hotel keepers in such cases to put up for election campaigns from one to two thousand dollars, and that he personally wanted a hotel license I would have to put up the required money and must also contribute from time to time smaller sums, as occasion required."

This man declined at the time to take out the license, but he has received one since, and worked in the Sault campaign on behalf of the Government.

The case illustrates what is done by the Government with the hotel business.

The School Book Grafts

The biggest thing in the way of graft is the school book monopoly, which the Ross Government has refused to mitigate. This monopoly was founded by Mr. G. W. Ross when he was Minister of Education, and is sustained by the following clause in the School Act:

"In case any teacher shall negligently or wilfully permit any unauthorized text-book to be used by the pupils of his school he shall for each offence on conviction thereof before a police magistrate or justice of the peace be liable to a penalty, payable to the municipality, for school purposes, of \$10, together with costs, as the police magistrate or justice may think fit."

Armed with this penal law Mr. Ross formed the ring, giving to three publishers the exclusive right to furnish readers, and to others a similar right to print other text-books. In no other country in the world is there such a law. In no other country is there such a monopoly.

The first complaint arose on the subject of drawing books. One firm was authorized to secure them at ten cents each; another offered to supply them at five cents. The higher price prevailed. In the public schools 350,000 pupils use these drawing books. They had to pay \$17,500 a year more for them than was just. It gave the publisher who was favored a profit over and above what the competing publisher wanted of \$175,000 in ten years.

What the Profits Have Been

The monopoly has been very profitable to the favorites who are in it. An idea of the profits was recently given by Mr. Lyon, of Guelph, a prominent publisher, who was asked at one time to join the monopoly. One of the publishers gave him the cost of production and the profit of certain of the books, and the follow are the figures of twenty months' business:

Copy books, cost less than 3 cents; retail price 10 cents; wholesale price $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents; profit $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents; 1,100,000 sold; total profit \$49,500.

Drawing books cost a little over 2 cents; retail price 10 cents; wholesale price $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents; profit 5 cents; half a million sold annually; total profit \$25,000.

Reader, part I., cost 4.1 cents; retail at 10 cents; wholesale 8 cents; profit, say 4 cents; 375,000 sold annually; total profit \$15,000.

Reader, part II., cost 5.74 cents; retails at 15 cents; wholesale 12 cents; profit, say 6 cents; 375,000 sold; profit \$22,500.

Reader No. 2 figures too worn to be deciphered; retail price, however, 25 cents; 375,000 sold.

Reader No. 3, cost 13.5 cents; retails at 35 cents; wholesale 28 cents; profit, say $14\frac{1}{2}$ cents; 310,000 sold; total profit \$49,950.

Reader No. 4, cost $14\frac{3}{4}$ cents; retails at 50 cents; wholesale 40 cents; profit $25\frac{1}{4}$ cents; 160,000 sold; profit of \$40,400.

\$2,379,600 In Twenty Years

The figures relating to arithmetics and grammars, of each of which 150,000 are sold annually, are not given. The second reader is also omitted from the calculation, and geographies are not mentioned. But the figures adduced show a profit of \$198,305 in twenty months, which is equal to \$118,980 in a year. Twenty years' sale of these books alone, without taking into consideration the thirty per cent. drop in the cost of production, will yield \$2,379,600.

The demand has increased, and the cost of production has been reduced, yet the Government stands by the monopoly.

GROWING EXPENDITURE AND DEBT

**SURPLUSES HAVE STOPPED—DEFICITS HAVE
COME—DIRECT TAXATION IN VIEW**

Freight Rates Raised Because of New Taxes

The Financial Situation More Danger- ous than for Many Years

One of the subjects of first-class interest is the financial situation. In 1871, when the Conservative Government went out, our annual expenditure was \$2,522,210. The treasury, at that time, contained a surplus of \$3,815,000, partly in cash and partly in Dominion bonds, and there was absolutely no debt. What we now have is an outlay aggregating \$5,000,000, an enormous debt, and absolutely no surplus.

It is important to note the growth in the expenditures. The following table tells the story:

1871	\$2,522,210
1896 (Mowat)	3,703,379
1897 (Hardy)	3,767,675
1898 (Hardy)	3,803,801
1899 (Hardy)	3,710,420
1900 (Ross)	4,003,729
1901 (Ross)	4,038,834
1902 (Ross)	4,345,003
1903 (Ross)	4,888,000
1904 (Ross, estimated)	5,300,000

Extravagance Under Ross

It is well to consider not only the increases, but the name of the Premier under whom they have occurred. Here are the facts:

Mowat expenditure, 1896	\$3,703,379
Expenditure when Sir Oliver Mowat took hold, 1871	2,522,210
Increase under Sir Oliver Mowat in 25 years	\$1,181,169
Hardy expenditure, 1899	\$3,710,420
Expenditure when Mr. Hardy took hold in 1896	3,703,379
Increase in three years under Mr. Hardy	\$ 7,041

BUILDING UP A DEBT.

Ross expenditure, 1903.....	\$4,988,000
Expenditure when Mr. Ross took hold in 1899.....	3,710,420
Increase in four years under Mr. Ross	<u>\$1,177,580</u>

These figures of the Ross expenditure do not include the expense of building the Temiskaming Railway. But so far as they go they are important. They show that Sir Oliver Mowat increased the public outlays by \$1,181,000 in twenty-five years, and that Mr. G. W. Ross added \$1,170,000 to them in four years. It was felt during Sir Oliver's time that he was rolling up the obligations rather rapidly. But he had a sense of responsibility to which the machine is a stranger.

Where is the Surplus?

While the outlays have been rising the surplus has gone and a debt has come. The original cash surplus was \$3,815,000, which Sandfield Macdonald left as a nest egg. For many years it was represented in the budget speeches that this nest egg was not only in existence, but that it was growing.

Treasurer Harcourt made in his budgets for the years mentioned the following statements as to its size:

1890	\$5,809,995
1892	5,285,575
1894	6,135,480
1896	5,078,986
1899	<u>4,988,079</u>

In 1899 a Royal Commission was appointed to prove that the surplus was in existence. That commission made the startling announcement in its report dated Feb. 13, 1900, that no such surplus could be found. According to the commission the state of the finances was as follows:

Assets	\$7,140,418
Liabilities	<u>5,182,544</u>
Surplus	<u>\$1,975,874</u>

But the reported assets included a sum of \$2,848,289, which was set down as the cash value of an increase in the annual subsidy granted to us by the Dominion Government in 1884. This was as much an asset as the capitalized value of any other part of the regular income. As a matter of fact it was included in the assets in order to let the Government down lightly. The actual state of the finances at that time, excluding the \$2,848,289, was this:

Liabilities	\$5,182,874
Assets	<u>4,292,129</u>
Deficit	<u>\$ 890,745</u>

It is important to bear in mind that the treasurer delivered a speech in 1899 claiming a surplus of \$4,988,079, and that as a matter of fact there was a deficiency of \$890,745 instead. For years the story of the surplus had been an imposture and a falsehood.

How the Debt Has Come

The surplus has disappeared, and we have in its stead a vigorous and growing debt. A portion which is produced by the railway grants stand thus in the accounts for the years cited:

1881	.....	Nothing.
1891	.....	\$3,229,420
1898	.....	5,046,911
1900	.....	5,214,698
1901	.....	5,870,040
1902	.....	6,846,649
1903	.....	6,675,931

It will be noticed that under the Ross regime this debt has grown from \$5,046,911 to \$6,675,931, or by \$1,629,020.

This increase is produced by the deficits in the regular expenditure. We are supposed to pay the railway grants as they come due. If the Government cannot make both ends meet in any particular year, it borrows the money for the railways, and thus the accounts are balanced, and the debt is increased.

Under the Ross Government, it will be seen, this part of the debt has gone up by \$1,629,020.

Coming Liabilities

But this statement of actual debt does not include all the liabilities we have to meet. The following engagements have to be added to what we have to pay:

Subsidies voted and not yet earned, up to Dec. 31, 1899....	\$3,056,900
Subsidies voted in 1900	251,400
Subsidies voted in 1901	307,000
Subsidies voted in 1903.....	708,000
Temiskaming Railway	6,000,000
Voted in 1904—	
Subsidy to Grand Trunk	400,000
Loan to the "Soo" Co.....	2,000,000
Grant to James Bay Railway	5,365,000
	\$18,086,300

Thus the Province, which once had a surplus in cash of \$3,815,000, is now in debt, or about to come in debt, to the following amounts:

Debt already acknowledged	\$ 6,675,931
Liabilities coming due	18,086,300

Total obligations	\$24,762,231
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The surplus of \$3,815,000 is gone, and we have in its stead obligations aggregating \$24,762,231. And the significance of this change is the fact that the debt has been incurred principally during the four years of Mr. Ross.

No Promise of Reform

With this condition of affairs facing the Province it might be expected that some movement might be suggested looking to reform. But nothing of the kind is proposed by the Government. Indeed what is bad is being made worse.

The ordinary outlays for 1903 were \$4,888,000. The proposals for 1904 add \$500,000 to that figure and create a new deficit. The figures are these:

Estimated expenditure in Supply Bill.....	\$4,965,151
Railroad Certificates	114,437
Annuity	102,900
Beet Sugar bounty	75,000
Iron bounty	25,000
Statutory Grant to Queen's	22,500

\$5,304,948

Estimated Revenue other than pine timber bonus, but including \$160,000 new taxes	4,044,000
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Estimated deficit	\$1,260,948
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Here we have the prospect of another million and a quarter being added to the debt we have to carry.

Direct Taxation Laid On

In order to meet the increasing obligations direct taxation has been, in part introduced. We have now what we had not a few years ago, namely, levies upon all companies and taxes upon the estates of the dead.

It is sometimes said that the people do not pay the taxes which are collected from companies. The Government, indeed, pretends that when it adds to the levies upon corporations it cleverly allows the public to go free. This theory was sadly shaken during the present year.

To help meet the Ontario deficits the Ross Government at the last session of the House laid new taxes on railways. The Grand Trunk Railway Company replied at once by increasing its freight rates. Mr. Hays explained that while the company would pay the new taxes, it would have to collect the money with which to pay them from the people; and the Railway Commission at Ottawa agreed to that view.

Higher Freight Rates

The position of the Grand Trunk is thus explained in a despatch to the *Toronto Globe*:

Ottawa, May 6.—Mr. Chas. M. Hays, Second Vice-President and General Manager of the Grand Trunk, has written a letter to justify the increase of rates in Ontario by the Grand Trunk. He states that the company cannot have their expenses and taxes materially increased, and also increase their capacity at great cost without adding to income by raising the rates to a reasonable extent.

"Our financial position, Mr. Hays goes on to say, will be materially affected by the Act passed by the Ontario Legislature at its last session, assessing provincial taxes against all railways in organized counties in the Province of Ontario, effective 1904, of \$30 per mile on single track, and \$10 per mile additional, or \$40 per mile, on double track. This will increase an expenditure for taxes in Ontario to \$232,702, making an increase of \$75,000 compared with the year 1900.

"We cannot have expenses and taxes increased so materially and at the same time be unable to increase our income by raising our rates to a reasonable extent."

The freight rates paid by the farmers were therefore raised in order that the taxes necessitated by the extravagance at Toronto might be collected.

While this has been going on Mr. Pettypiece, a supporter of the Government, has been pushing a bill for the taxation of railways, under which the municipalities will be robbed of a good deal of the railway taxation they now get. This scheme, as originally laid before the House, proposed that

the railway taxes now collected by the municipalities should be collected by the Government in future, and that the Government should retain twenty per cent. of the revenue thus gathered in. The idea in view was to take from the municipalities one-fifth of the money they collect from corporations and to transfer it to the Ontario Government.

The one-fifth thus taken from the people would, of course, have to be furnished by direct levies upon the taxpayers. In other words, the proposition is that the farmer shall pay higher rates to railways, and more municipal taxes, that the Ontario Government may get a larger revenue.

Municipal Losses

In addition to this form of taxation there are serious encroachments upon the municipal revenues. Originally, the municipalities, which have to pay for police service, were entitled to the income from liquor licenses, and the Province was allowed a percentage. Now the Provincial Government takes the income and gives the municipalities a percentage.

How the municipalities have been deprived of revenue, solely that the extravagance of the Government might be covered, is made clear by the following table, which shows what the Province collects and the gradual increase in its share of the license money:

1877	.....	\$ 70,651
1885	.....	163,330
1886	.....	211,162
1898	.....	281,523
1901	.....	304,676
1903	.....	371,671

The Provincial Government now takes \$300,000 more per annum from the municipalities than it did twenty-five years ago.

This is equivalent to a tax of ten mills on \$30,000,000.

The municipal councils lose \$300,000 every year, or \$3,000,000 every ten years.

This money, taken from the various treasuries, can be replaced in but one way, and that by direct taxation.

More Direct Taxes

While the Ross Government has laid on taxes in an indirect way it has taken authority to lay on further taxes in a direct fashion.

Section 264 of the Ontario Assessment Act declares that "*taxes may be levied for the purposes of the Treasurer of the Province, and such taxes shall be assessed, levied and collected by and paid over to the same persons, in the same manner and at the same time as those imposed for municipal purposes.*"

So that with the surplus gone, the expenditure rising owing to extravagance, and the debt rapidly getting larger, the direct tax is the next "reform" we may expect.

An Audit is Needed

The finances of Ontario are not properly audited. There is so supervision such as there is at Ottawa. It is stated that the Commission which looked into the finances reported the system as satisfactory and entirely safe. A few weeks after that Commission had concluded its examination of the books the collector of the succession duties was arrested for defalcation. What was the trouble? There is no audit.

What We Are Getting

It is worth while to consider what we are getting.

The expenditure under G. W. Ross has been raised from \$3,710,000 to \$4,888,000. This is an addition of \$1,177,000.

Sir Oliver Mowat increased the outlays by \$1,181,000 in 25 years. Mr. Ross has increased them by \$1,177,000 in four years.

The cash surplus of \$3,815,000 has disappeared.

A debt of \$6,675,931 has been rolled up.

Obligations aggregating \$18,086,300 have been undertaken.

The total debt in sight is \$24,762,231.

The municipal revenues have been encroached upon. No less than \$300,000 a year is now taken from the municipal license revenue.

Other new forms of taxation have been devised. Railways have been taxed, with the result that the freight rates paid by the farmers have been promptly raised.

A new scheme of taxation is in contemplation, the purpose being to seize a portion of the railway and company taxation now going to the municipalities.

Power has been taken to lay on direct taxation, and to have it collected by the municipal treasurer.

Is it not about time to have a change? Is it not time to try another system, and to endeavor to save the pockets of the people?

What Mr. Whitney Will Do

A POLICY OF REFORM AND PROGRESS TO BE INAUGURATED

Popular Rights to be Protected

Ontario to Advance on Lines that Contri- bute to the Moral and Material Advan- tage of the People

A splendid programme of reform has been laid down by Mr. Whitney, and by the Conservative party. The more prominent features are the following:

To Protect the Ballot

Measures are to be taken to assure to all the people, irrespective of party, the right to vote as they please, and to guarantee that when their votes are cast, they shall be counted, and not stolen.

Legislation, says Mr. Whitney, must be had to render collusion between election criminals and the beneficiaries of their crimes impossible in future.

These are important propositions, following out the line Mr. Whitney laid down when he introduced his first legislation aimed at the election rascality. The sacred right of the franchise has been invaded by the Government machine. Ballot boxes have been stuffed; elections have been stolen; and the right of the people to express their opinions and to rule has been denied. Nobody has been punished. The repetition of the crimes is thus encouraged. Mr. Whitney intends to put an end to the machine and its frauds and to give the elector, Conservative, Liberal or Independent, the right to exercise his franchise freely and the protection of the state in so doing.

New Ontario

The advancement of all Ontario is to be pushed; but with respect to New Ontario the development of its resources is to be proceeded with. The people will not object to any reasonable expenditure with this end in view.

New Ontario has not received the attention it requires. It has been overrun with Government barnacles. The timber policy has been against

settlement, the mining system is corrupt. A complete reform must be effected, that colonization may be promoted. The appeals for relief are pressing.

"I am a Liberal," writes an old resident at the Sault, "but I am tired of the corruption in official circles. The district is governed for the benefit of the creatures of the Government, and its development is retarded. Thirty-three years of this is too much. The Government has been in too long. Give us anything for a change. But take away the Ross Government. Lash it away."

Railway Grants

Grants to railways for development or colonization purposes and in such cases only after most careful examination into the merits of each application. In every case stock or security should be taken for the amount advanced and freight and passenger rates should be controlled by the Legislature. If moneys granted by other Provinces by way of bonus to local railways are to be paid back to such Provinces by the Dominion Government, Ontario must insist upon justice being done here in the same way.

This is an important provision, for in addition in providing for railway progress in Ontario, it protects the rights of the Province as regards railway expenditures. We give our own money and our own land for railways. Then, the two "Liberal" Governments, that at Ottawa and that at Toronto, compel us to pay again for railways in the Maritime Provinces and in Quebec.

Today, Ontario is building the Temiskaming Railway at the expense of the Ontario taxpayers. Every cent Ontario has to pay. Not one cent does Ottawa contribute. Yet no other Province is building its own lines. We build our own, and then help through the Federal taxes to build railways in other Provinces.

We paid nearly half the cost of the Intercolonial Railway. We pay \$900,000 a year as our share of the interest on the outlay on that road. We shall pay nearly half of the cost of the Grand Trunk Pacific, which runs far to the north. We pay not only half of the cost of Government-owned roads, but half of the subsidies to private owned roads.

Yet we have to build our own railway into the Temiskaming district, and the Ottawa Government refuses to give the ordinary aid, while the Ross Government dare not insist that justice be done to us.

Mining

With reference to the mineral development of Ontario, Mr. Whitney has put on record the following proposition:

Substantial encouragement should be given to the development and refining of our several mineral ores, in order to hasten the time when we may insist that the entire process of refining be carried on here, instead of in a foreign country.

To this has been added this advanced suggestion by the Conservative Conference:

"That in the opinion of this Conference a mining office should be established in each mining district, where all information in regard to the mining lands in such districts shall be obtained free of charge, and where a location map shall be kept on which each application when made shall be marked and such application shall be granted in the order in which they are received at such office."

The mining development of Ontario is prevented by the improper and inefficient regulations. These regulations, as pointed out by an expert, Mr. Montague, quoted on another page, give the minister a free hand to do as he pleases. The prospector is cheated. Corruption prevails. Development is delayed.

The Conservatives propose to give facilities to enable enterprise to come into the mining region, which is known to be rich, and to develop the resources of the Province to the advantage of all Ontario.

The purpose in this regard is made the clearer by the following resolution passed at the Conservative Conference:

"That this convention condemns the methods of the present Government in passing orders-in-council injuriously affecting the prospector, miner and settler and rendering their rights uncertain, and declares itself in favor of fixed and stable mining laws that will protect the miner and encourage development."

The Timber Resources

"Stock should be taken of our timber resources, in order to ascertain with reasonable exactness the amount and area of our timber wealth, so that the people may be in a position to judge of the course pursued by the Government and Legislature with reference to the most valuable areas. Included in this is the great pulp wood wealth, which should be dealt with as far as possible on the same principle as our timber, and should be disposed of openly by public competition. It is hardly necessary to say that the policy of the Opposition regarding saw logs, which has brought such beneficial results, must be continued."

There is to be no more timber for Michigan, and pulp lands are to be sold at auction, as in Quebec. Our raw material is to be used for home industry, and not for foreign industry. The pulp wood resources of the Province are to put revenue into the Treasury, instead of into the pockets of speculators. The revenue is to be employed in aiding agriculture, education and development all along the line.

The distribution of the timber limits among the "Cap." Sullivans, and other machine operators, is to be stopped.

To Promote Colonization

The Conference declared as follows on the subject of the treatment of the settler:

"That in the opinion of this Conference, as to the lands now or hereafter opened for settlement, the bona fide settler should have the free grant of the lands and all timber and minerals thereon, subject to proper restrictions to prevent locations of lands unfit for settlement for agricultural purposes; that actual settlement in Ontario should be encouraged and nothing be permitted to prevent or retard bona fide settlers or the development of mineral properties; provided that where timber licenses cover lands required for settlement or mineral development equitable arrangements be made protecting the just rights of licensees."

The policy of the present Government gives the settler no encouragement. It is difficult for the man looking for a location to find one. Usually

a speculator has got there in advance, and a "rake-off" is charged. This is wrong and it ought to be stopped.

When a free grant is secured the conditions are so onerous that the settler can do little or nothing. The Conservative Government proposes to look into these grievances and to correct the wrongs.

To Promote the Interests of Farmers

Mr. Whitney lays down his proposition with regard to agriculture thus:

"Grants for agricultural purposes should be increased, especially looking forward to the early establishment of additional agricultural schools."

This was endorsed at the Conservative Conference, and the following resolution was passed:

"That this Conference feels that the sphere of usefulness of the Ontario Agricultural College should be improved and extended, and that inasmuch as not more than 3 per cent. of the farming community enjoy the advantages of training at the college, an earnest effort should be made to disseminate more widely the valuable information available at that institution. That the schools of this Province be utilized for that purpose; and bulletins on timely agricultural topics be circulated among the schools for the instruction of the pupils, and with a view to keeping before the boys in the rural sections the advantages of a thorough agricultural training."

Ontario's farming industry is a most valuable asset. Everything should be done that can be done to promote its interests. The Conservatives, under Sir John Carling, established the Agricultural College. This institution serves a good purpose; but there is much yet to be done for farming. All the European countries have agricultural schools in which the elements of agriculture are taught to the young, thus helping the farmer in the training of his sons, and implanting in the sons a love for farming that it is desirable they should have. Mr. Whitney proposes to initiate agricultural education, and thus to promote the best methods in agriculture. This will add to the value of the farms and to the profit derivable by their owners from their produce.

The addition of a method by which the information available at the Agricultural College can be distributed will be a further advantage to the farming community.

Transportation

"We should co-operate heartily with the Dominion Government in improving the facilities for the transportation of our food products, and our Department of Agriculture should, without further delay, address itself to the breed of our cattle in order that we may obtain a market in Great Britain for dressed beef, and allow the dressed beef of Dakota to find a market without our assistance."

If spurred up by Ontario, the Government at Ottawa can secure a reduction in rates. It is a pity that the Ross Government voted down the proposal by the Opposition to co-operate with the Dominion Government on the transportation question. Cheaper facilities, as proposed by Mr. Whitney, will give the Ontario farmer a better market and a larger return for his labor.

The Government of Mr. Whitney can do much towards securing the best breed of cattle for beef-producing purposes. By so doing it will place our

dressed beef in a position to compete with the Armour and Swifts of Chicago. This is a better policy than that of Mr. Dryden, who has opened a ranch in Dakota to take off young cattle, to fatten them there, and to build up the Chicago beef interest.

Educational Reform

Speaking upon the educational system, Mr. Whitney says:

"The public school curriculum must be so changed and framed that the 95 per cent. of our children who cannot go farther than the public school will there receive the best possible education suited to their needs, and having regard specially to the fact that their education begins and ends in the public schools. Under the present system, the individuality of the pupil and the moulding of character are entirely lost sight of in favor of the machine-like system of written examinations, the effect of which in our system is, as Principal Grant aptly and significantly observes, "to cramp the mind and destroy the vitality."

"The teachers of the Province should be called upon to contribute from their very valuable experience by choosing from among themselves members for a consultative body, which will represent the combined wisdom of the best qualified men in the Province and whose advice will be at the command of the Minister.

"The burden imposed upon the people by the frequent changes and high prices of school books must be lightened."

Grave complaints are made with respect to the public school system, all of which arise from the "one man control." Mr. Whitney proposes reform and efficiency in the interests of the public and the teaching profession. By the establishment of a consultative committee of experts a modern and elastic system, meeting the needs of the people and removing the complaints, will be established. The school book rings and monopolies created by Mr. Ross when he was Minister of Education will be dealt with in order that the pupil may have good and cheap books.

Public Ownership

The public ownership of public utilities is to be facilitated. Legislation to that end is to be given. An important proposition having this object in view was made in the House by Mr. Miscampbell with regard to the water powers. Mr. Miscampbell moved:

"That in all future agreements made between the commissioners of the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park and any other person or persons, power shall be reserved to the Provincial Government to at any time put a stop to the transmission of electricity or pneumatic power beyond the Canadian boundary and that in the opinion of this House the waters of the Niagara River and its tributaries, as well as all the other waters of other streams where necessary, should at the earliest moment, subject to existing agreements, be utilized directly by the Provincial Government in order that the latter may generate and develop electric or pneumatic power for the purpose of light, heat and power, and furnish the same to municipalities in this Province at cost."

This was voted down by the entire Government following. The Government wanted private companies to control the power, and objected to

action defensive of the rights of the people. The power question is especially important because the day is not distant when the farmers will require it in the prosecution of their work.

Audit the Finances

"The financial position of the Province is the key to the situation. With her extensive resources the problem of the provincial finances can be easily solved, leaving the way clear for such increased expenditure in agriculture and education as may be found necessary and desirable, and this result can be arrived at without periodically selling timber limits or, in other words, capital stock, to cover up an anticipated deficit, caused by the excess of annual expenditure over annual income."

"The 'surplus' has gone, and a debt has been incurred. If this extravagance and debt be dropped there will be money to devote to the purposes of the people, and particularly if in addition the Treasury gets, as it will under Mr. Whitney, money that is now wasted upon speculators.

The giving of an audit will also be a valuable reform. It will protect the people and will contribute to the proper management of affairs.

The Municipal System

A reform of the municipal law, which is now cumbrous, involved and unwieldy, is promised.

The municipal law is so muddled that few people can understand it. It must be simplified. The new county council system has given rise to serious complaints. It has separated the interests of the township and county councils without producing any corresponding benefit. It will need consideration in the public interests. The assessment law has been manipulated in the interests of large corporations. That must be stopped. The individual taxpayer must have his rights.

To Aid Drainage

The following proposition on the subject of the drainage of waste lands was passed at the Conservative Conference:

"That in the opinion of this Conference the respective funds created to encourage and assist tile and municipal drainage be enlarged from time to time as necessity requires. That henceforth the interest on the moneys already loaned, as well as on that to be loaned, shall not exceed the actual cost thereof to the Province."

This will mean the addition of millions of acres to the cultivatable area of Ontario, and is a reform of great magnitude. The loaning of the money at the actual cost will be a saving to the people, while the Province will suffer no loss.

Law Reform

"Divest the Division Court of many of the anomalies which now hamper its usefulness. Lessen the expenses and expedite the results of litigation, and provide without further delay one final and conclusive provincial appeal from a trial judge."

The Ross Government has tried for four years to meet the popular demand for a reduction in the cost of litigation, but has failed, owing to its lack of ability to deal with such a great question. Mr. Whitney intends to

take hold of the subject, and by simplifying procedure, to save the money of the people.

Legislation for Labor

The Conference adopted the following plank:

"That this Conference is in favor of the better inspection of factories and of labeling prison-made goods as prison made, and we heartily endorse the proposal of Mr. Whitney for the enactment of legislation for the settlement of labor disputes."

All these propositions make for the improvement of the conditions of labor, and for the betterment of the relations between labor and capital.

Moral Reform

On the subject of temperance, the Conference said:

"This Conference, recognizing that abuses exist in connection with the liquor traffic, places itself on record as being in full sympathy with all well directed efforts to promote temperance and moral reform."

This is in harmony with Mr. Whitney's platform on the subject of license regulation. A strict and impartial administration of the law will do much towards removing the evils of intemperance. Such an administration we have not had under the Ross Government. Once let it be given and all parties will feel that a distinct advance has been made.

The Reforms in View

The reforms Mr. Whitney has in view are numerous and important. Briefly summarized they are the following:

1. The protection of the ballot of the people from thieves who steal it.
2. The punishment of the criminals who attack the people's franchise.
3. The development of New Ontario, and the stoppage of the boodling there.
4. Grants to needed railways, but on conditions that shall be advantageous to the people who have to use these roads.
5. The assertion of the rights of Ontario in the matter of the distribution of the public money for railway purposes. Ontario no longer to pay for all her own railway development, and for half of the cost of like development in other Provinces.
6. Mining development to be promoted by giving aid to the business of refining, by having a mining office in each mining district, and by allowing the prospector to get the lease of the property he finds.
7. The timber limits to be honestly sold and not distributed by private sale among partisans.
8. The pulp resources to be utilized to put revenue into the pockets of the treasury, instead of into the pockets of speculators.

9. Colonization to be promoted, settlers to have free grants, timber and minerals on such grants to belong to the bona fide settler.
10. Grants for agricultural purposes to be increased.
11. Work of Agricultural College to be made more effective by the distribution of the information therein gathered.
12. The Agricultural College to be supplemented by agricultural education in agricultural schools, thus helping the farmer in the training of his sons.
13. Efforts to be made to reduce the transportation charges.
14. The paying of attention to the breed of cattle, with a view to our participation in the dead meat trade with Great Britain now monopolized by the United States.
15. Education reform, with a view to making the public schools more useful to those pupils whose education stops there.
16. The establishment of an educational council of experts representing all branches of education, with a view to the adaptation of our educational system to the needs of the people.
17. The school book monopoly, which gives so much money to private individuals, to be dealt with.
18. Legislation facilitating the public ownership of public utilities to be passed.
19. The finances to be put in proper shape, with a view to checking the growth of the debt.
20. The accounts of the Province to be audited.
21. The complicated municipal system to be disentangled and brought up to date.
22. The drainage of waste lands to be aided by loan, and the rate charged to be no more than the cost to the Province.
23. Law reform to be introduced under which the people shall not be swamped by tremendous costs.
24. Labor to be protected by efficient factory inspection.
25. Prison made goods to be labelled as such.
26. Efficient legislation to be enacted for the settlement of labor disputes.
- 27.—The license law to be strictly and impartially enforced, with a view to the removal of the evils of intemperance.

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